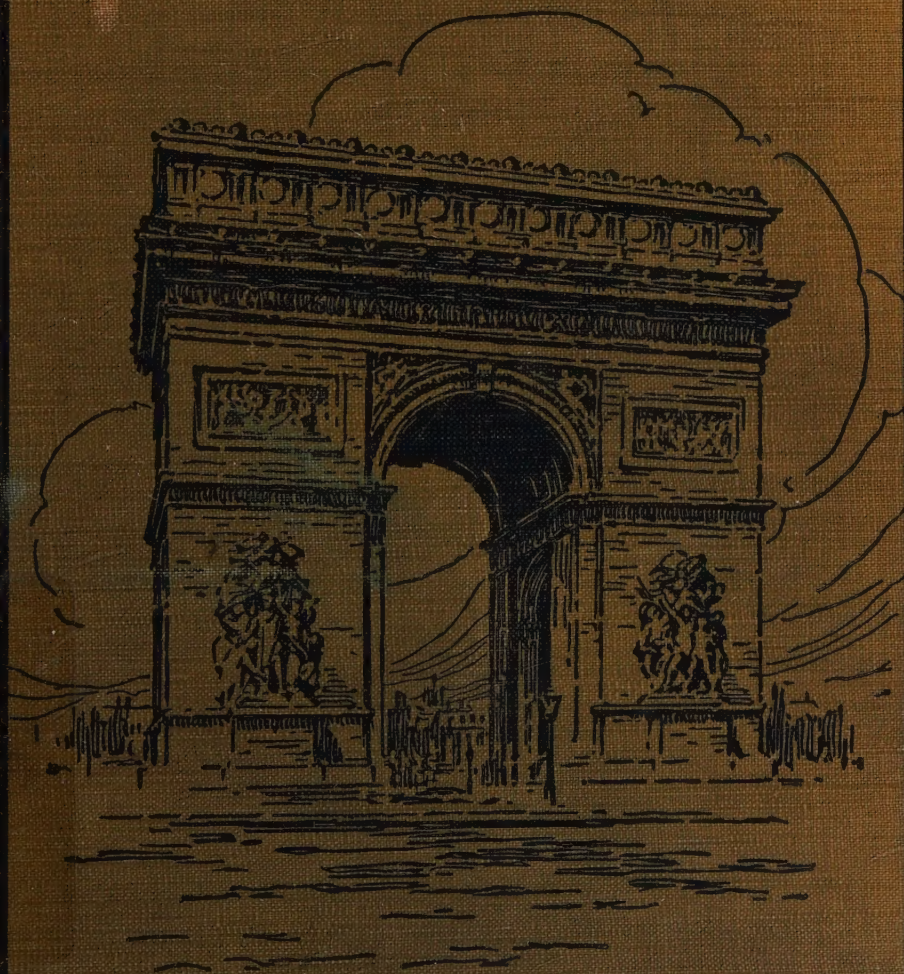


MODERN EUROPE

KAUFMANN



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Modern Europe; from the sixteenth
century to the present time



THE SIGNING OF THE LATERAN TREATIES, FEBRUARY 11, 1929

MODERN EUROPE

FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
ALFRED KAUFMANN, S.J.

THE CREIGHTON UNIVERSITY
OMAHA, NEBRASKA



ALLYN AND BACON

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Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

PREFACE

THIS book is intended to be a companion volume to Father Betten's *Ancient and Medieval History*, which appeared early in 1928. To comply with the wishes of many schools, the matter which previously formed the second half of Betten and Kaufmann's *Modern World* is here expanded into an independent volume. The present work, therefore, is a story of events from 1500 to the present time, and thus becomes a modern history in the widely accepted sense of the term. Naturally much of the groundwork of the former book has been transferred to this one, but only after a thorough revision. The narrative now includes the most recent events so as to give the student an intelligent grasp of post-war conditions in Europe. In Chapter I an attempt has been made to sum up the results of medieval development. It is hoped that this will enable those schools that for one reason or another omit medieval history to use the book independently.

The author wishes to express his sincere appreciation of the many suggestions he has received from interested teachers and readers. He has earnestly tried to embody them as far as possible in this new text. He is grateful for the many words of encouragement he has received from various sources in every part of the country and for the honor of seeing his text adopted in hundreds of schools.

ALFRED KAUFMANN, S.J.

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INTRODUCTION

1. For about two centuries it has been the custom among historians to divide the history of Europe into three periods: ancient, medieval, and modern. Ancient history commences with the beginning of recorded events and ends with the break-up of the Roman Empire. Medieval history then takes up the growth of feudalism and the gradual development of separate countries. It shows how each developed its own character, institutions, and government, and how in western Europe nearly all were united by a common faith and membership in the same Church, the Catholic Church. Medieval history ends and modern history begins with the sixteenth century, when religious unity was destroyed and whole nations broke away from the authority of the pope. This book tells the story of the last of these three periods. It begins therefore about 1500 and ends with our own times.

2. A little reflection will make it clear to the student that these divisions are somewhat arbitrary. They have been adopted by writers on history as a matter of convenience, to arrange the facts in a more orderly manner and thus to prevent confusion in the student. In reality it is of course impossible to divide the past into clearly defined periods beginning and ending on precise dates. Men do not and cannot change their habits and ways of doing things all at once, no matter what happens. It is true that sometimes a single event, such as a great battle or a new discovery in geography or science, may influence the lives of the people profoundly, but these changes do not follow immediately. For a while the farmer, the manufacturer, and the business man will go on in the old way until

they find out that new ways are better suited to the new conditions.

Now history tells not only of great battles and remarkable actions of leaders, but of the customs and institutions of the people, of changes in their occupations, habits of thought, and manners of living. Since these changes come very gradually, we can give only approximate dates for the beginning and end of a historical period. Moreover, students of history not only are interested in what events occurred at a given time but also want to know why they happened, what were the facts that induced governments to wage war, that made it easier or harder for people to earn a living, that prevailed upon merchants and manufacturers to seek profits elsewhere.

Now these reasons often lie far back and force us to recall the events of a previous period in order to understand what happened in the time with which we are concerned. This truth that changes in the habits of men are gradual and are caused by conditions and happenings of a previous age is called the *unity and continuity of history*. We should keep it before our minds in all our study of history. Knowledge of a variety of facts without linking them up with preceding and succeeding events and knowing the reasons for them is hardly worth having.

3. And yet, although you will not discover in the long flow of events one sudden break with the whole past, you cannot proceed very far in the study of any period without being struck by certain outstanding activities or ideas which you seldom or never noticed in your reading on preceding centuries. It is just these new activities or ideas that distinguish one period from another and allow us to separate modern, medieval, and ancient history. The distinctive features of our period, modern history, will become clearer as we go on with our narrative, but it will be helpful to name at once some of the most important ones.

(1) Lack of religious unity is one of the most conspicuous features of our modern times. The medieval peoples of western

Europe all belonged to one Church, the Catholic Church, and looked upon the Holy Father in Rome as their spiritual ruler. In the very beginning of our history we shall see how this religious unity was broken and how henceforth many millions were members of other churches or of no church at all.

(2) During the Middle Ages the spirit of nationality had developed very little. The medieval folk were often hardly aware of being members of this or that particular nation, but they were very much alive to the fact that Christendom — then practically all Europe — had common interests against the outer world of barbarism and heathenism. Modern men are much prouder of their nations and more jealous of their independence.

(3) The governments of the nations have become more important to their subjects because they have undertaken many tasks which formerly were left to the people themselves, as for instance education, the regulation of labor and industry, and many other matters. In the first part of this period, too, the rulers became more nearly absolute, that is, free from any popular control, until the people rose and transferred the powers of government to representatives of their own choosing.

(4) While in the Middle Ages the scene of events lies almost wholly in western Europe with only occasional shifts of the stage to southeastern Europe or to Asia Minor, our story takes in more and more of the whole world. We shall see the rapid spread of the white race and its activities over every continent. And everywhere that white race has produced governments and institutions and modes of living more or less similar to those of Europe. The world has become "Europeanized."

(5) With the spread of the white race to other continents and through commerce with these continents the wealth of Europe has increased. But the class of merchants and manufacturers has secured much more of this increase than any other class. With wealth has come ambition. Hitherto the nobility had exercised the greatest influence upon the governments of Europe.

In our period the nobles have gradually been replaced by the rich middle class, the business men and the owners of factories and mines. These men have become the real rulers of Europe and the world.

1500 A. D.

Scale of Miles





PART I: THE DISRUPTION OF RELIGIOUS UNITY

CHAPTER I

EUROPE IN 1500

The condition of Europe as we find it at the opening of our narrative is the product of the Middle Ages. We cannot here repeat the history of these ages, but we must give a brief outline of the results of medieval development in order to understand the people of the sixteenth century, their actions and their motives.

STATES AND GOVERNMENTS

4. Political Boundaries. — If you compare the map of Europe in 1500 (before this page) with any modern map, you will see at a glance a considerable difference in the political boundaries. You will notice, too, that these differences increase as we proceed from west to east. In the British Isles you find the English kingdom and united to it, at least nominally, Ireland. Scotland, however, then formed an independent state. France presents about the same outlines as now, only her northern and eastern boundaries have since been somewhat advanced.

The boundaries of Spain and Portugal look exactly like the present ones. The former in 1500 had just come into existence by the union of a number of little states, notably Aragón, Castilla, Navarra, and Granada. Both Portugal and Spain were just then acquiring vast oversea dominions in America, Asia, and Africa.

But here the resemblance to the modern map ends. The familiar boot-shaped Italian peninsula did not contain the mod-

ern kingdom of Italy but was filled with a number of small independent states united only by a common language. The largest of these states, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, occupied the southern end of the peninsula, but was ruled by the king of Spain. Farther north you find the Papal States stretching across the peninsula from the mouth of the Tiber to the delta of the Po River. The pope was their civil or "temporal" ruler. The north was divided up into little city-states, that is, independent cities controlling the adjacent territory. Nearly all of them were wealthy and the homes of the most brilliant literature and art, admired and imitated by all Europe. Some of the most important ones, like Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Milan, were, besides, prosperous commercial centers, and before the discovery of the new route to India their merchants had enjoyed the monopoly of the trade with the Near and Far East.

In the heart of Europe, the territory now included in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and Holland, the map shows a large state, the Empire, or as it was officially styled, the Holy Roman Empire. Long before our period it had covered a much larger area, extending far into Italy and France, but by 1500 it was practically confined to the German-speaking countries. It was a sort of European United States, presided over by an emperor who was elected for life.

About three hundred separate states owed allegiance to the emperor, some of them hardly of the size of an American county, while others like Austria, Bavaria, or Bohemia can be compared with our eastern states. The bond of union between the various parts of the Empire was extremely weak, as all were jealous of one another and of the emperor. The rulers of seven of these states were called electors because it was their privilege to elect the emperor. He was always chosen from among the princes of the various states. By 1500 it had become the custom to elect the emperor from the family of the Hapsburgs, the hereditary sovereigns of Austria. A national assembly, or "diet,"

was made up of representatives of the states and legislated for the whole Empire.

Many of the German states were under the civil rule of a bishop. Indeed, nearly every German bishop united in his person a twofold authority: as head of an ecclesiastical district or diocese he was charged with looking after the spiritual welfare of the people, and as a prince of the Empire he carried on the work of an ordinary state government. Usually the areas of these two kinds of government did not coincide.

To the east of the Empire the map shows two large states, Poland and Russia, but neither played an important part in the sixteenth century and we may, for the present, ignore them. The northern or Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were known to the people of the Middle Ages as three separate states. However, about a century before the opening of our history the sovereign of Denmark had added the crowns of Sweden and Norway to his own. The former he lost about this time, but the latter remained in his possession till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

If we now turn to the southeast, we notice a marked difference between the boundaries of 1500 and those of the present. The geography of that part of Europe to-day is apt to puzzle a student, but it was simple enough four hundred years ago. Just across the boundary of the Empire was the ancient kingdom of Hungary, considerably larger than now. The whole Balkan peninsula as far north as the Transylvanian Alps, the Danube and the Save rivers was under the yoke of the Turks, who looked upon the sultan of Constantinople as their civil and religious ruler. The same sultan held sway over a great empire in Asia, extending from the Sea of Marmora and the Ægean to upper Mesopotamia and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The sixteenth century witnessed an even greater extension of Turkish power, eastward to the Persian Gulf and westward along the coast of Africa to Morocco. The Turkish Empire then covered practically the entire Near East.

5. Conditions in Government. — These are the changes a comparison of the maps will show. How they came about the student will learn in the course of this history. But there are other and more important things which a map cannot explain. When you read in newspapers or magazines of political events abroad, you often come across debates and legislation of parliaments and notice very soon that even kings and their ministers depend on these elected representatives of the people. They make laws, vote taxes and expenditures, overthrow prime ministers and other executive heads of the government, and in general are much more spoken of than the monarchs.

All this was different in 1500. Then the monarchs were really powerful persons, to whom, for better or for worse, the fortunes of the state were intrusted. During this period the rule of the king was growing more nearly absolute, that is, it was being extended to all the functions of government, to the making and execution of laws and often even to their application in the courts. Even in England, where the power of the parliament had always been a force to be reckoned with by the kings, this body was extremely docile and subservient to the royal will. Elsewhere the representatives of the nation were only an advisory body whose advice might sometimes be safely rejected or might not be asked at all. Some European states had no parliaments, and the monarch was uncontrolled lord of all, in name as well as in fact.

In general the people of the sixteenth century were satisfied with their system of government. In fact, they looked up to their kings with awe and reverence almost mounting to worship, as if these rulers were some kind of superhuman beings, whose conduct was not to be criticized. Love of country and love of its ruler were with them the same thing.

We modern Americans express our patriotic feeling by honoring the flag and by extolling the achievements of our nation. At that time the people gave their loyalty to the king and the royal family. To criticize or to belittle the king was unpatriotic and

often rather dangerous. This excessive reverence for the monarch and his will explains to us why in those days the ruler sometimes could enact very high-handed measures, contrary to convictions and sentiments of the people, without finding much resistance.

And the men and women of the sixteenth century were intensely patriotic and proud of their nationality. The Middle Ages had thought more of what was common to all Europe — the same religion, the same language of the educated, Latin, and the same ambition of extending the area of Christendom and forcing back the infidel Turk — but now the people became more conscious of what separated them from other nations. The Englishman, the Frenchman, and the Spaniard began to take pride in their own native tongues, to glory in the deeds of their countrymen, and above all to resent any foreign interference in their own affairs. This resentment was entertained oftener than before, even against the head of the Catholic Church, the pope. It found expression in frequent complaints against payments made to the Holy See, against the papal power of appointing to ecclesiastical offices and similar matters. That the character and religious zeal of the popes of this period were not up to the high standard of previous centuries only made matters worse. We shall see some of the disastrous consequences.

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

6. Social History. — Not only governments and princes but also the various classes of people have their history. Their occupations and manner of living, their joys and hardships, their ideas and ambitions undergo changes which are even more remarkable and important than those of boundaries and governments. For in history we are above all interested in the fortunes of men in the past, and if among other things we study wars and the rise and fall of states and the changes in boundaries, we do this only because such happenings often profoundly affect

the lives of the people. In other words, we study not only political but also social history. The former is concerned with governments and states, the latter with society, that is, with the different classes of people that make up a nation.

Before we have advanced very far in our story of modern times, we become aware that the society no less than the government of the sixteenth century was in many respects different from that of the present. The most striking changes did not occur until the beginning of the nineteenth century and will be described in their proper place. However, in the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century certain events happened which had a considerable influence on all classes. To understand the effects of these events we must try to form a picture of the lives of the people in city and country before these changes came.

7. The Rural Population. — The farmer is at all times the most useful member of society. He supplies food not only for himself but for the rest of society, and the raw material for clothing as well. Without him our cities could not exist. In the sixteenth century the number of people living in the country and engaged in farming was comparatively larger than to-day. In fact, the wealth of most people was then reckoned not in bank deposits or stocks and bonds but by the number of acres of farm land they owned.

There were, however, very few landowners. The land was mostly in the hands of the nobility or the church, that is, owned by monasteries or bishops, and the peasants who tilled it seldom enjoyed the full fruit of their toil but owed various duties and payments to the landlord.

Formerly nearly all peasants had been serfs, that is, they and their descendants were attached to the soil and could not leave it or sell or lease their holdings to any one else. On certain days they had to work on land which the lord had reserved to himself and of which he received all the produce. They made, moreover, certain payments in cash, for instance when the heir took

over the land and obligations of his parent, and in produce at certain times of the year. Ovens, wine-presses, and mills were usually the property of the landlords and the serf had to pay for the use of them.

By 1500 this condition of serfdom had largely disappeared in western Europe, but in the Empire it still prevailed over wide areas, and in eastern Europe, in Hungary, Poland, and Russia, practically every tiller of the soil was a serf.

The disappearance of serfdom was a gradual process. At no particular moment was a whole class of serfs freed from all its obligations, as was the case in the emancipation of our American Negro slaves. In the course of time the peasants got rid of one after another of their servile duties toward their lords until in most countries they finally became full owners of the acres on which their forefathers had labored as serfs.

In 1500 even in western Europe, in England and France, this gradual emancipation was far from complete, while elsewhere it had not yet begun. By that time the English or French farmer was as a rule free to leave his land. Instead of working for a certain number of days on the land which the lord had reserved for himself, he now made a fixed payment which enabled the lord to hire laborers. Sometimes the noble proprietor did not care to superintend the cultivation of his land, but parceled it out among several peasants in return for a fixed proportion of the crops.

There were, however, enough "servile" obligations left to annoy the peasant. He still might be called upon for an occasional day's labor on roads and bridges. He still paid dues for the use of the lord's oven or wine-press. He still was forbidden to kill game which injured his crops, and still had to be a mute onlooker when the lord's merry hunting party galloped through his fields.

8. State of Agriculture. — Farming methods for several centuries had made little progress. Practically everywhere the farmer still followed the time-honored "three-field system."

The arable land was divided into three big grain fields. Slight ridges of unplowed ground further divided each field into long narrow strips, and each peasant had a right to one or more of these strips in each of the three fields. In each field one peasant usually grew the same crop as his neighbor, wheat or rye in one, barley in the other, and nothing in the third. The following year another third would be left fallow, while the barley field of the previous year would become the wheat field, and the former fallow section would grow barley.



PLOWING

(From an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum.)

This method prevented the complete exhaustion of the soil at a time when scientific fertilizing and crop rotation were unknown. Farm implements were of the crudest kind; the wooden plow, the sickle, the scythe, and the flail did the work of the modern agricultural machines. Potatoes were not yet known. As very few farmers grew clover or other grasses for winter fodder, it was difficult to keep cattle over the winter and to obtain fresh meat during that season. When compared with modern life in the country, the poverty and the burdens of the peasants seem pitiful, but we must not forget that the modern

factory in our big cities has forced millions into a life just as poor and far less healthy.

9. Decline of Nobility. — Of the two kinds of landowners which we mentioned, the prelates of the Church and the nobles, the latter class, the dukes and counts and barons, had lost much of their former importance and were to lose more as time went on. Two or three centuries before the opening of our history, the noble or feudal lord was universally looked upon as the born protector of the land. Armed nobles or knights made up the armies of the times, which were fed and supported by the toil of the peasant. They were then also the hereditary rulers of the provinces or other subdivisions of the country and the most influential element in the councils of the nation.

But the invention of gunpowder in the fourteenth century had brought about the introduction of infantry armed with muskets for which the picturesque but haughty mail-clad knight was no match. By 1500 the professional soldiers were infantrymen, mercenaries who sold their services to the highest bidder. German, Swiss, Spanish, and other adventurers were ready to fight under any flag, merely for the love of money and plunder.

Thus it came about that the nobleman was now rather useless as a fighter. Any government could maintain as big an army as it could afford to pay for. Over wide areas in western Europe the kings had done away with the hereditary local government of dukes and counts and had begun to put the administration of such government into the hands of officials appointed by themselves. The noblemen retired to their estates, supervised their management, and whiled away their time by hunting or political intrigues, if they were not progressive enough to engage in business or colonial exploits.

10. Life in Towns. — By 1500 towns and cities had become fairly numerous. Most of them, if we except the Italian cities, had originated only late in the Middle Ages. During and after the crusades (1100–1300) they had grown considerably in wealth and population, but they cannot be compared with our modern

centers of trade and manufacture. A city with a population of over 5000 was reckoned among the larger ones. Only a few, like London or Paris or Antwerp or Rome, corresponded at all to our idea of a big city.

The ground of most of them had originally formed part of some nobleman's estate or of a monastery, but in the beginning of the sixteenth century nearly all of them had obtained charters. These were written documents which freed them from all obligations to their former lords.

The leadership of the movement for obtaining municipal liberties had often been taken over by associations of traders and manufacturers, the guilds. Guilds, not only of merchants but of skilled artisans, were very common in the later Middle Ages. The merchant guilds came first and were followed later by a great variety of associations of tailors, blacksmiths, tanners, goldsmiths, candlemakers, butchers, and other workers. *Craft guild* is the name generally applied to these unions of workingmen. Not only the hired workers but the proprietor or master of the shop also belonged to the same guild. In their day, all of these guilds deserved well of the community. They maintained a high standard of workmanship and honest dealings with the public, and took intense interest in the welfare and beauty of their home towns.

But at the opening of modern history their balmy days were over. The merchant guilds had become aristocratic bodies and oppressors of their fellow townsmen. Violent struggles, sometimes accompanied by bloodshed, ensued in which the haughty merchants were defeated and their guilds either dissolved or deprived of almost all their influence. The craft guilds, too, though stronger than the former, suffered from various internal maladies such as bitter feuds between masters and journeymen, and narrow opposition against improvements in manufacture which hampered enterprising masters. Nevertheless, many of them lingered on until the nineteenth century when the modern big factory ended their usefulness. Do not

confuse the guild with the modern labor union. Both the membership and the motives of the latter are different.

11. Town life in the sixteenth century did not have the feverish activity of a modern city nor was it so attractive to people in the country. For purposes of defense the towns were usually surrounded by walls and towers and only a few well-guarded entrances admitted the traveler, who might have to pay toll before he was allowed to pass in. There were, however, pleasant fields and gardens right up to the defenses of the city, for the townspeople still grew a large part of their vegetables themselves. Inside, the houses were much more crowded together than in our modern cities; the streets were narrow and dark and sometimes unpaved. The importance for the public health of abundant pure water and of proper sewerage was not yet fully understood; hence plagues and pestilence were then more frequent than now and often carried off large numbers of the inhabitants. Yet a medieval town with its bastions and spires and high-gabled houses was a very pretty sight. The cathedral, especially, with its lofty steeple, its delicate lacelike tracery in stone, and its marvelous stained-glass windows, was the pride and the joy of the townspeople. The town hall, too, and the headquarters, or halls, of the various guilds were often gems of the very finest architecture.

12. Revival of Trade. — The towns were then as always the centers of manufacture and commerce. The early medieval town for the most part did business only with its immediate neighborhood. When the great Roman Empire broke up, trade over long distances dwindled down to insignificant proportions, but rose again with the consolidation of the new nations of Europe.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed a remarkable revival of commerce with the East. The products of Eastern fruit trees, spices from the Moluccas, medical herbs, precious stones, cane sugar, fine glassware, silks, tapestries, and rugs were some of the commodities imported from eastern coun-

tries. Some of them came from far-away India and China. Not that European merchants often ventured so far away from home. These things were mostly purchased from Arabian or other Oriental traders in the eastern harbors of the Mediterranean or the Black Sea and brought to southern Europe, chiefly to



VASCO DA GAMA

the ports of Italy, whence they eventually found their way to the west and north. The city states of Venice and Genoa led all the other harbor towns of Europe in this profitable trade.

13. Geographical Discoveries.— But shortly before the beginning of our period the prosperous aristocratic merchants of Italy were to experience a rude awakening. There were other seafaring folk in Europe who long had envied the Italian monopoly of the eastern trade.

With indomitable perseverance and truly heroic courage they set to work to find a route of their own to India and the rich Far East. The student knows how brilliantly they succeeded. For nearly a century bold Portuguese sailors had groped along the western coast of Africa. They were seeking a way around the southern end of that dark continent to enter the Indian Ocean and thus eliminate in one stroke the Italian and Arabian middlemen.

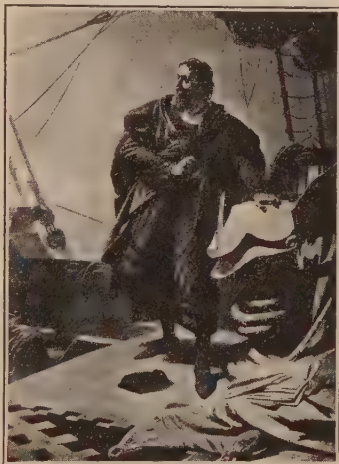
In 1498 success rewarded their efforts. In that year Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in India after a perilous voyage around the Cape of Good Hope, up the east coast of Africa, and across the Indian Ocean. In a few years the harbors of farther India, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, China, and Japan were known to the Portuguese captains and visited regularly by them.

Greater still were the achievements of the Spaniards. Six years before da Gama's voyage, on October 12, 1492, the Italian sailor Christopher Columbus, in behalf of the Spanish sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, discovered and took possession of a bit of American territory. He too had set out to find India, but hoped to realize his ambition by going westward on the theory that the earth was round, and landing somewhere on the eastern coast of China, or Cathay as it was then called. His quest failed, but, though he never fully understood it, he achieved something far greater. He presented his sovereigns with a new continent, America.

Other daring navigators and explorers completed what he had begun. The Pizarro brothers and others conquered Peru and the rest of South America. Cortés overthrew the empire of

Montezuma in Mexico. De Narváez, de Soto, and de Coronado explored the vast North American continent, and in a relatively short time the sway of the Spanish kings extended over all South America with the exception of Brazil, which almost by accident became Portuguese. It included the coast lands and islands of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico and our own Pacific coast as far north as Oregon.

These marvelous deeds of the Spaniards and Portuguese spurred on others. English and French explorers divided between themselves what was left of North America. The former appropriated the Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida as far west as the Alleghenies. The latter established eventually a colonial empire stretching along the St. Lawrence and embracing



COLUMBUS ON THE "SANTA MARÍA"

the regions north and south of the Great Lakes as well as the broad Mississippi valley.

This brief outline of the heroic age of exploration must suffice. The student has become acquainted with many details of it in the introductory chapters of American history. Here we are concerned chiefly with the effects of these discoveries on Europe. Many a time in this book we shall have to deal with the ambitions and rivalries aroused by the oversea colonies. For the present it is enough to summarize the economic results of the great discoveries and to point out some of their effects on European society.

14. The Commercial Revolution. — The term *Commercial Revolution* we apply to the far-reaching effects of these great discoveries on the commercial and industrial life of Europe. These changes did not stop with commerce, but they began first in that field of activity.

(1) The old trade routes which connected the eastern with the northern and western shores of the Mediterranean lost their importance in favor of the new routes around Africa to India, across the Atlantic to North and South America, and somewhat later, across the Pacific. Naturally the Italian cities suffered thereby and entered on a period of decline.

(2) Non-European countries became possessions or colonies of European nations, notably of Spain, Portugal, England, and France. Emigrants from these states settled in the colonies, and introduced there the languages, institutions, and customs of their mother countries, along with much of their systems of government. This was especially the case in America, where the birth of a new Spain, Portugal, England, and France gratified the pride and patriotism of the people at home. America became "Europeanized," a white man's country. Although conquests were made in Asia and Africa, very little colonization was attempted there, either because the native population was too numerous to admit many European settlers or because the unhealthy climate discouraged settlement. Nevertheless, in

the course of time certain parts of these two continents, notably South Africa and Japan, either became colonized or adopted European institutions.

(3) The hope of material gain lured the soldier and the trader into unknown countries, yet religion too profited by the new discoveries. Heroic missionaries followed in the footsteps of the trader and brought the message of the Gospel to the natives of North and South America, India, China, and Japan. The great apostle, St. Francis Xavier, amid incessant dangers and hardships evangelized parts of India, the Moluccas, and Japan, and his successors penetrated into the forbidden interior of China. Intrepid Spanish and Portuguese priests went into the primeval forests of South America and converted entire Indian tribes, while French Franciscans and Jesuits befriended the red man along the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi valley to win him to the teachings of Christ. The story of the zeal and sacrifices of these men is one of the most glorious pages in the history of the Church.

(4) The change from the old to the new trade routes brought about a change in the kind of merchandise that was traded between different countries. European shipyards soon learned how to build bigger and stronger ships. Transportation by all-water routes was cheaper than over the old Oriental caravan trails, and thus much bulkier articles than spices, precious stones, and fine fabrics could profitably be carried over long distances.

Europeans not only were supplied with new kinds of food and drink, such as coffee and tea, cocoa and molasses, potatoes and Indian corn, but likewise imported large quantities of fish, fur, and timber. The colonists for a long time depended on the mother country for manufactured goods, such as the better qualities of cloth and iron wares.

(5) The European nation owning colonies was quick to see that these oversea possessions could be made to yield a considerable revenue to the mother country if they helped her to establish a "favorable balance of trade." This meant that

through their trade more money would come into the mother country than would go out of it. The colonies were to be markets where cheap raw materials could be bought for the manufacturer at home and where costly manufactures could be sold.

In the beginning conditions in the colonies naturally favored such a balance, but the home government hoped to make it permanent by appropriate legislation. Sometimes high import duties were placed on manufactures brought to the colonies from other European countries. Then various laws prohibited the making of articles in the colonies which could be bought from the mother country, or the exporting of raw material to others than the mother country or in other ships than those of the nationality to which the colony belonged. The theory on which such legislation was based is called *mercantilism*, and this theory was responsible for much of the discontent that later on arose in the Spanish and English colonies.

(6) In § 3 we stated that not all classes of the people at home shared equally in the benefits derived from the foreign possessions. The lion's share naturally went to the merchants and manufacturers. With their wealth came the ambition to play an important part in the government of the nation, in order to protect their interests.

Our story will show how this ambition was realized, how the old landed aristocracy was set aside, how later on the absolute kings had to yield much of their power to the rising class of business men and industrialists. These men are often referred to as the "middle class" because they rose between the two classes known to the Middle Ages, the peasantry and the nobility. And since they resided mostly in the towns and cities and made them bigger and wealthier, they are also named the *bourgeoisie* (French for townspeople).

(7) The peasants had good reasons for viewing these changes with doubts and misgivings. True, the growing cities demanded a greater supply of food and thus offered a better market for the farmer's produce. Money became more plentiful and some of

it found its way into the peasant's home. It enabled him to buy for himself and his family some of the new things that the cities produced or imported. After a while, too, he learned to grow foodstuffs hitherto unknown, and all over Europe the potato became part of the farmer's diet.

Yet to offset these advantages there were many serious drawbacks. Formerly the landlord received his income in the form of farm produce. After the Commercial Revolution money payments became the rule. A lord then found it no longer necessary to supervise his estate. He often moved to the city or the court and sent agents to collect the rent or to sell the products of his estate. Such agents, because they did not own the soil, took little interest in the farms or the tenants but tried to please their employers by wringing all the money possible from the peasants. This evil was often made worse by the custom of paying the agents a commission on the rents they collected. The lords did not see the sufferings of their tenants but basked in the sunshine of the royal court and society. Thus the very idea of the medieval agricultural system was abandoned. The lords no longer — not even nominally — fulfilled any duties toward their peasants (such as giving them protection and administering justice) but came more and more to be regarded as "useless drones" of society. "Absentee landlordism," as this arrangement has been called, is the worst kind of agricultural system.

These are in brief outline the effects of the Commercial Revolution which followed the great discoveries. They do not appear all at once, and some of them will be explained more fully as our story proceeds.

LEARNING AND LITERATURE

15. The Renaissance and Humanism. — Our survey of Europe in 1500 would be incomplete if we did not add a few words on the new spirit that then stirred the world of scholars and writers and helped to distinguish this era from medieval

times. True, the movement which we are about to discuss began much earlier and is generally studied in the last chapters of medieval history. But it reached its culmination at the beginning of our period, and part of our account of the sixteenth century would not be intelligible if we passed it over in silence.

About the middle of the fourteenth century there arose in Italy, where the memory of the old political and literary glory of ancient Rome had never died out, a new fervor in the appreciation of the classic works of the Roman authors. During the Middle Ages the Latin language had undergone some changes, and on the whole it disregarded many of the rules which had been carefully observed by the writers of the classic period of Roman literature. The medieval scholars, moreover, to express the thoughts of theology and Christian philosophy, had created a system of new terms which are not to be found in the ancient classics. They laid stress almost exclusively upon the correctness of thought and not so much upon the dress in which it was to appear, upon fluency and elegance of style.

Now, however, the old Roman masters were studied again with enthusiasm, and more attention was paid to the beauty of the form. Hand in hand with this went a greater interest in the beauties of nature than the medieval writers had shown. "Renaissance," or revival, is the name generally applied to this renewed admiration and desire of imitating the culture of the ancient world.

Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374) was the chief promoter of this movement. His host of followers grew larger from year to year. Classic Latin became the everyday language of these enthusiasts. They employed it in published works and in private letters. Eagerly they searched for manuscripts of forgotten ancient writers. Greek literature, too, soon became the object of their study and admiration.

Humanism — a term applied to the literature typical of the Renaissance — spread rapidly through the various countries of Europe and took hold of all classes of people who could

afford to give time to such pursuits. The laity vied with the clergy in literary production. The possession of libraries was no longer confined to monasteries and the homes of the higher clergy. No palace was thought to be completely furnished unless it could boast of a good collection of books. The art of printing, which was invented about the middle of the fifteenth century, made it easier for even the moderately wealthy to indulge in this passion for books.

16. Attitude toward Religion. — In its best representatives humanism was far from being opposed to the Church. Petrarca himself said: "Let us admire their [the ancient writers'] intellectual gifts, but in such wise as to reverence the Creator of these gifts. Let us have compassion on the errors of these men while we congratulate ourselves and acknowledge that out of mercy, without any merit of our own, we have been favored above our forefathers by Him who has hidden His secrets from the wise and graciously manifested them to the little ones. . . . The real wisdom of God is Christ."

The Church rather favored humanism. If a few popes did not support it, because other interests of religion demanded attention more urgently, most of them were its most liberal promoters. In Rome brilliant minds were sure of finding every kind of encouragement, and without the active support and generous assistance of church dignitaries, humanism could never



FRANCESCO PETRARCA

have obtained so general a hold upon the nations of western Christendom.

Not all the humanists, however, harbored the sentiments of a Petrarca. Not a few would gladly throw overboard everything that was not in full accord with the views of the ancient pagan writers whom they admired so much. They imitated not only the elegance of diction of the ancients but also the immorality of their lives. Moreover, in their criticism of medieval writers



MONASTERY OF MONTE CASSINO

The original monastery was built in the time of St. Benedict and from here the Benedictine Order spread over Europe. The present buildings date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and are good examples of Italian Renaissance architecture.

they frequently did not confine themselves to their dry and unattractive style, but heaped ridicule on their teaching. Often they failed to distinguish between the private opinion of a medieval writer and the doctrine of the Church.

17. Art. — *The Italian Renaissance* gave us not only humanism in literature but also a new revival in art. Italy contains more ancient edifices and monuments erected by the Romans than any other part of Europe. The reawakened admiration for the ancients led to an imitation of their art. In architecture it reintroduced many of the features found in the structures of

the Greeks and Romans. Innumerable churches and secular buildings were erected which by their broad round arches, their lack of tall spires, their columns, and their wide spacious interiors are easily distinguished from medieval (Gothic) structures.

Painting made marvelous progress. The artists of this period are among the best the world has ever known. The laws of perspective were now fully understood, and an improved method of handling oil colors made it possible to paint on canvas. Up to the middle of the fifteenth century paintings were mainly frescoes, that is, the painting was done on freshly plastered walls and ceilings and then allowed to dry.

Italian painting culminated in the eighty years from 1470 to 1550. Between these dates lies the work of Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raphael, and scores of others. Germany had Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein, and, a little later, the Netherlands had Rubens, Rembrandt, and Van Dyck, Spain Velázquez and Murillo. France and England could not at this period boast of any great names, but many foreign artists found liberal patronage at the courts of Paris and London.

The beginnings of modern natural science are likewise to be found in this marvelous sixteenth century, but, as the main work of the great founders of the modern sciences was done somewhat later, we shall treat it in its proper place (§ 187).

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

18. Evils in the Church. — In the Introduction we pointed out that one of the differences between medieval and modern times was that the religious unity of the former was lacking in the latter. While in the Middle Ages all western Europe belonged to the Catholic Church and recognized in the bishop of Rome its spiritual ruler, we have in modern times a multitude of religious bodies independent of the pope and of one another. This disastrous breaking up of religious unity occurred in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. It is one of the reasons why we date modern history from the beginning of this century.

Like all sudden and violent upheavals in history, this religious revolution was made possible by the presence of great evils of long standing. It cannot be denied that toward the end of the fifteenth century the Catholic Church stood in need of a general reform. The number of those of its members who grossly violated their moral duties was alarmingly great. Divine worship was indeed celebrated with becoming splendor and regularity. But there was a tendency to overdo certain religious practices, such as pilgrimages, and to attach to them an efficacy which savored of superstition. In the private lives of vast numbers there was need for a thoroughgoing improvement. On the other hand, considering the general manifestation of faith by outward acts of piety and devotion and the liberality practiced towards charitable institutions, it is not very likely that many refused on their deathbed to be sincerely reconciled with God.

Still more ominous was a deplorable relaxation of morals in the higher and lower clergy, and a sad lack of religious discipline in many monasteries. Thus the very circles from which a reform should have come were largely unfit and unwilling to undertake it or to coöperate with it.

Two abuses in particular helped to increase and perpetuate the unsound state of the clergy.

(1) The plurality of benefices. The number of ecclesiastical positions was very great and many of them were lavishly endowed, that is, supported by large grants of money. Now it had become rather common to confer several such "benefices" upon one person. One man, for instance, was made bishop of two dioceses, or bishop of one diocese and at the same time "canon" of the cathedral of another; or canon of the cathedral and parish priest of one or more opulent parishes. It was supposed that he would in person perform the duties of one of these offices and employ a competent priest to take his place in the others.¹

¹ Thus Albrecht of Brandenburg, brother of the Elector of Brandenburg, was Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz and administrator of the bishopric of Halberstadt, and held at the same time canonicates in several other places.

This abuse might be tolerated, in some cases, because there were many ecclesiastical endowments to which hardly any actual duties were attached. Such benefices were frequently given to university professors whose regular salary was often very meager, or to poor clerics who wished to pursue higher studies in the universities.

(2) The bestowal of responsible ecclesiastical positions upon mere boys, commonly the scions of noble families. In such cases a priest was intrusted with the duties of the office, while the father of the young incumbent attended to the administration of the property. Often youngsters of sixteen years and less were the possessors of several benefices, which put rich revenues at the disposal of their parents.

These evils were rife in all countries and cities, Rome included; and their pernicious character was so little realized that the best families were not free from them. As a boy of twelve years, St. Charles Borromeo, the child of very pious parents, was the abbot of a rich Benedictine monastery. When, later on, he was made Archbishop of Milan, he found that his predecessors had not been residing in the city for eighty years, and that their principal occupation had been to draw the revenues. His own first act was to abdicate twelve abbeys which had been granted to him merely on account of his family connections.

19. The Papacy. — Most disastrous of all, however, was the sad condition of the papacy just at a time when zealous and spiritually-minded popes should have devoted all their energy and power to a thorough reform in head and members. The reverence for the papacy had declined already in the fourteenth century, when during the deplorable schism of Avignon (Betten, *Ancient and Medieval History*, § 667) two, and for a time even three, candidates claimed to be the legitimately elected successors of St. Peter. The schism was, indeed, healed in the Council of Constance (1417), but during the bitter personal strife much was said and written that injured the good name and prestige of the Holy See.

The popes of the next century (fifteenth), moreover, could hardly be said to equal in character and zeal their great predecessors of the Middle Ages. The best of them had their attention engaged in warding off the Turkish danger from Europe, or in frustrating the French attempts to conquer all Italy. Too many of the cardinals, too, were simply great lords with ecclesiastical titles and revenues but with little ecclesiastical spirit.

Another evil, rampant also in other places but nowhere so pernicious as in the capital of Christendom, was nepotism, that is, the promotion to high office of near relatives of the pope and other leading prelates of the Church. While this cannot be objected to as long as the persons thus promoted possess the necessary qualifications, it was in fact the chief cause of the worldliness which was conspicuous among the highest dignitaries of the Church. It reached its climax under the notorious Alexander VI (1492-1503).

Being the nephew of Pope Calixtus III (1455-1458), he had risen, in spite of the scandals of his life, to the cardinalate, and had obtained important positions in the government of the Church. When pope his private conduct improved somewhat, but his court was not much different from that of profligate secular princes. He conceived the plan of changing the Papal States into a secular kingdom in favor of his relatives. The divine character of the papacy, however, appeared even in a man like Alexander VI. He took some steps to encourage monastic life, to spread devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and to safeguard the purity of ecclesiastical doctrine. He did not forget the propagation of the Faith in foreign lands. The fine arts found in him a liberal patron. But no project of general and thorough reform could count upon the support of such a pope.

With gross exaggerations the deplorable conditions at the papal court were heralded throughout the world. They gave color to all kinds of charges not only against the morals of the highest Church officials but also against the methods of papal

administration. Louder than ever grew the clamor against the various ecclesiastical taxes which on certain occasions the bishops and other prelates were obliged to send to Rome as contributions to the expenses of the government of the Church. The prelates showed unwillingness to pay them, and the secular rulers protested against the constant flow of money to Rome as too severe a drain upon their territories.

20. Possibility of a True Reform. — Reform again became the watchword of serious and honest as well as of shallow minds. But none raised the cry more noisily than those who were the least willing to suffer any restraint upon their passions, and those who expected to gain something from the restrictions to be imposed upon others. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that even the worst made their demands in a revolutionary sense.

Nor were persons wanting who used all their influence, great or modest according to their station, to work zealously for a genuine reform. We must point at least to a few of them.

21. True Reformers. — The kingdom of Spain (§ 4) found a reformer of the first rank in *Cardinal Jiménez*, a member of the Franciscan Order. Austere in his private life, a lover of humanistic as well as scholastic studies, and an able administrator, he was eminently qualified for his task. Pope and monarchs gave him their hearty support. He succeeded in inspiring the priests of Spain with love of both virtue and learning. He undertook a general visitation of the monasteries, and in carrying out reforms he went so far as even to banish dissolute monks from the kingdom.

Cardinal Jiménez had the revenues of a king and the personal wants of a hermit. Much of his fortune went to establish the University of Alcalá, which by the attention given to theology, Biblical studies, classic and Oriental languages, and the secular branches, soon rivaled the best institutions in Europe. It was endowed with numerous scholarships to make the pursuit of academic studies possible for the poor. To render easier the

scientific study of Holy Scriptures, the cardinal engaged a number of scholars to bring out a polyglot Bible, which gave in parallel columns the Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Chaldaic texts, with dictionaries and grammars of Hebrew and Chaldaic. It was the first printed polyglot. The books these learned men needed were bought without regard to cost. Once the cardinal paid 4000 ducats for six Hebrew manuscripts.

About the same time that Jiménez began to reform Spain, Germany was the scene of the activity of another great reformer, Cardinal Nicolaus Krebs, commonly called *Nicholas of Cusa*. Like Jiménez "he was first and foremost a reformer of his own person. His life was a very mirror of all priestly virtue." "His mind embraced all provinces of human knowledge, but all his knowledge was from God and its sole object was the glory of God and the edification and amendment of men." In 1552 Pope Nicholas V sent him as legate to Germany, where reformation was badly needed. He assembled the German bishops in the metropolitan cities for the celebration of provincial councils and took vigorous measures to insure the observance of ecclesiastical laws. About a hundred and fifty Benedictine monasteries, not to mention those of other orders, were visited and, if necessary, reformed. Everywhere he insisted above all on the active union with Rome, which had suffered greatly. If not all the good seed he sowed brought forth good fruit, the failure was partly due to the shortness of his activity, as the pope soon employed him on other missions.

On a smaller scale labored the eloquent *Johann Geiler*, for many years preacher at the cathedral of Strasbourg, a virtuous, charitable, and highly educated priest, whose many-sided and powerful influence for true reform extended over a great part of southern Germany.

A corporate movement of reform was begun by the *Society of the Brethren of Common Life*. In order to serve God more effectively, several ecclesiastics under the leadership of *Gerhard Groot*, canon of Deventer, Holland, resolved to lead a commu-

nity life and to follow most of the practices of religious life without, however, binding themselves by vows. Their peculiar activities were preaching, teaching, and the writing and disseminating of good literature. They also made it their special object to befriend poor students. A part of them, however, soon formed a real religious order, the Congregation of Windesheim,



STRASBOURG

The cathedral spire is a dominant landmark.

which worked in the same spirit and served as a support and backing of the Brethren of the Common Life. Both communities exerted a far-reaching influence, chiefly through the students of their many higher schools, and their reformatory efforts among the secular and regular clergy were fruitful of astonishing results. They were the teachers of Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and of Nicholas Copernicus. Thomas à Kempis, author of the famous booklet, *The Imitation of Christ*, was a member of the Congregation of Windesheim.

22. Church Itself Not Defunct. — The foregoing remarks about true reformers are not meant to do full justice to this consoling subject. They serve, however, in some degree to counteract a wrong impression which the exposition of the evils in the Church is apt to produce. The Church was not to be despaired of. Her old vitality was by no means gone. These very times brought forth more than eighty saints in Italy alone. They also saw the appearance of many excellent books on Christian morals and on the reception of the sacraments. The disciples of Gerhard Groot and the writers set to work by Cardinal Jiménez were only a few of the many authors who issued useful works. There was shown, moreover, a lavish liberality in the establishment of new hospitals and schools and towards charitable institutions in general. It was not the fault of the immortal Church that the blameworthy life of many of her members and ministers became the pretext for a revolution which tore away large countries from ecclesiastical unity.

GERMANY AFTER 1550

SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100

REFERENCE

- Boundary of Empire
- Hapsburg Territories
- Ecclesiastical Territories
- Imperial Cities

Geographical Features and Regions:

- Regions:** Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Artois, Luxembourg, Lorraine, Burgundy, Alsace, Baden, Wurtemberg, Swabia, Franconia, Thuringia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Schleswig, Holstein, Denmark, Prussia, Livonia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Greece, Turkey, Russia, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Faroe Islands, Azores, Madeira, Canary Islands, Cape Verde, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Congo, Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia, Angola, DRC, Congo, Chad, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Congo, Angola, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, South Africa.
- Cities:** Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Cologne, Frankfurt, Mainz, Trier, Metz, Strasbourg, Basel, Bern, Lucerne, Zurich, Geneva, Paris, London, Rome, Athens, Constantinople, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo, Reykjavik, London, Paris, Rome, Athens, Constantinople, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo, Reykjavik.
- Rivers:** Rhine, Danube, Elbe, Oder, Vistula, Bug, Dnieper, Don, Volga, Aral Sea, Caspian Sea, Black Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Adriatic Sea, Ionian Sea, Aegean Sea, Marmara Sea, Bosporus, Dardanelles, Hellespont, Bosphorus, Black Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Adriatic Sea, Ionian Sea, Aegean Sea, Marmara Sea, Bosporus, Dardanelles, Hellespont, Bosphorus.

L.L. POSTER, ENGR., N.Y.

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CHAPTER II

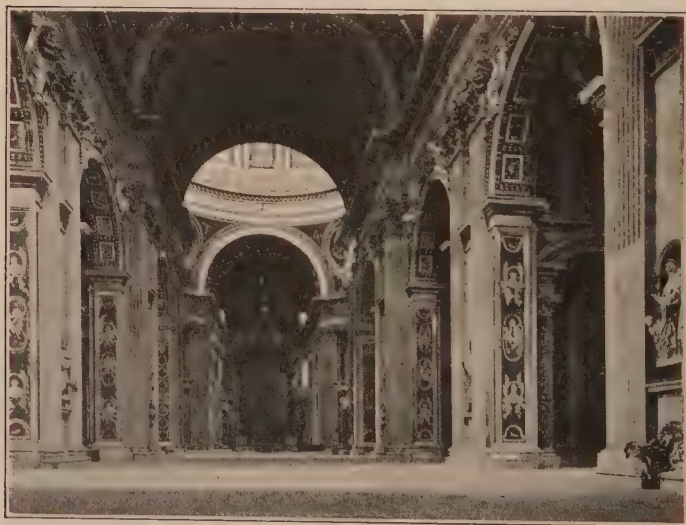
THE REFORMATION PERIOD ON THE CONTINENT

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN GERMANY

23. The Indulgence. — About the end of the fifteenth century the venerable Basilica of St. Peter, which had been built by Constantine the Great, was threatened with destruction. The pope had therefore resolved to take it down, and erect a new structure, magnificently planned in accordance with the new art (§ 17). To facilitate the collection of funds, Pope Leo X, in 1514, promised a plenary indulgence to those who would, according to their means, contribute to so praiseworthy an undertaking — besides of course fulfilling the conditions usual in the case of a plenary indulgence, namely, the reception of the sacraments.

An indulgence was then what it is now : a remission, outside the sacrament of penance, of temporal punishment due to sins which are already forgiven. The Church attaches indulgences to certain good works which she wishes to encourage, as prayers, pilgrimages, acts of mercy. In the past the good work was sometimes almsgiving, or contribution toward the building of a church, or toward other charitable or pious enterprises.

24. Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz (§ 18, note) was commissioned by Pope Leo X to publish the indulgence in a large part of Germany and send the money gathered from it to Rome. He in turn appointed subcommissioners. The latter, commonly learned, pious, and eloquent preachers, went from place to place, sought by appropriate sermons to rouse the people to genuine contrition and a good confession, and collected the alms that were offered.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH, ROME

This church, the largest Christian place of worship in the world, took about 150 years to build. It was consecrated in 1626.

It is evident that this procedure, though correct in itself, was open to serious abuses. The commissioners might lay more stress on liberal donations than on the necessity of contrition and confession. On handing in his alms a person received an indulgence certificate, by which ample faculties were granted to any confessor whom the holder of the certificate might choose. This feature in particular was apt to leave on superficial minds the impression of a mere business transaction, the more so as the commissioner was allowed to raise or lower the amount according to his estimation of the applicant's wealth.¹

25. Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz appointed John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, as his chief subcommissioner. This much maligned priest, personally of blameless character, undoubtedly went too far in his endeavors to procure financial success. He insisted indeed on the necessity of contrition and confession for all those who wished to obtain the remission of temporal punishment for themselves; but his teaching concerning the indulgence for the dead contained serious errors.

To secure this benefit for a soul which has, of course, departed this life in the state of Grace, nothing, according to him, is required but the alms. He who wishes to apply it to the soul of a deceased person need not be in the state of Grace or have any contrition for his sins.

This doctrine, though at his time actually taught by some

¹ As far back as the twelfth century there are cases on record of popes who granted indulgences for the purpose of raising money. Toward the end of the Middle Ages this sort of indulgence became so common that loud complaints were raised on all sides. In fact, whenever in the fourteenth century this means of raising revenue was resorted to, the same complaints, founded or unfounded, were sure to follow. Great men, as Cardinal Jiménez, openly expressed the opinion that such indulgences should be granted less frequently and then only with greater precautions against abuses. Particularly odious were those indulgences which were granted, not for the benefit of some local work of piety or charity, but to divert money to Rome. In the case of the indulgence proclaimed by Leo, the trouble was aggravated by the reports of the scandalous way in which the proceeds of the jubilee indulgence of 1500 had been disposed of under Alexander VI.

irresponsible preachers, has never been supported by ecclesiastical authority. Tetzel's own brethren in religion openly reproached him for his ill-advised tactics, which soon became the talk of the whole country.¹ They furnished another element of discontent to those who sincerely or hypocritically lamented the evils of the Church.

26. Martin Luther. — At this time there lived in Wittenberg, in the Electorate of Saxony, as a professor in the university



MARTIN LUTHER

of that city, an Augustinian friar, already famous for his vigorous popular eloquence and his great ability in teaching. Martin Luther was born in 1483. After entering the order, he was for many years looked upon as an edifying religious. But the question whether his sins were really forgiven began to worry and torment him. Being of a headstrong and self-willed disposition, he refused

to listen to the advice of his confessors and superiors, and endeavored to settle his troubles by his own reasoning and studies. At the same time he became more and more remiss in the observance of his rules and the practices of piety.

At last he imagined he had made the discovery that the doctrine of the Church concerning the remission of sins was altogether wrong. He thereby implied that Christ, contrary to His solemn promise, had allowed the Church to fall into a most

¹ It is without the slightest reason that Tetzel's opponents accuse him of an immoral life or ascribe to him such silly statements as that indulgences remit sins without contrition and confession, or the duty of restitution, or that they are even pardons for future sins. The saying, however, that the soul jumps out of purgatory as soon as the money tinkles in the box, though it may not be literally his, is in keeping with his erroneous doctrine on indulgences for the dead.

disastrous error. The new system, which gradually developed in Luther's mind, confused sin with concupiscence, which is a consequence of original sin, and, though it makes man inclined to sin, is no sin in itself. By the sin of Adam, he thought, human nature was corrupted beyond recovery; man's acts can only be bad; but Jesus Christ covers the soul with His infinite merits, which, as it were, conceal all trespasses from the eye of the just God; if sinful man expresses his firm "belief" in this merciful dispensation, God will not punish him, though the sin is not taken away, but merely covered; the sinner therefore ever remains a sinner; the sins committed by St. Paul before his conversion were never truly forgiven. It is evident that such a justification is no justification at all, and it will always remain a riddle how Luther could maintain that he had found such a monstrous doctrine in the Bible.

He had already begun to propound these ideas in the pulpit as well as in the lecture room. It was rumored abroad that a strange kind of theology was being taught at Wittenberg. So far, however, Luther did not think of separating himself from the organization of the Church.

27. Luther Opens the Conflict, October 31, 1517.—When Tetzel on his preaching and collecting tour arrived in the neighborhood of Wittenberg and people flocked to him, Luther at once took up the subject of indulgences. In his lectures, sermons, and in the confessional he inveighed against Tetzel. On the Eve of All Saints' Day, he posted a set of 95 theses on the door of the principal church. These propositions he offered to defend in public disputation against all comers.

The greater number of his theses treated of indulgences, but attacked rather the doctrine itself than the abuses connected with it. Nearly half of the theses impugned other points of ecclesiastical teaching, particularly the power of the Church relative to the remission of sins. Though the theses were written in Latin, the language was less exact than calculated to catch the popular mind by appealing to prejudice and passion.

Such challenges were by no means uncommon in the universities. But because of the discontent and abuses of the time, Luther's theses created a sensation far beyond the circles of the university and the confines of the city. Within a short time they were the talk of the whole country. Luther saw his advantage and followed up his success with other writings, both popular and scientific. Opposition arose, and soon a brisk literary warfare was going on. Many serious-minded men sided with the bold monk, in whom as yet they hailed a courageous champion of their own just complaints. The radical humanists (§ 16), of whom there were many in Germany at that time, took up his cause enthusiastically. His religious superiors and the bishop of the diocese left him at liberty. The prince in whose territory he lived, the Elector of Saxony, was rather pleased to notice that the university which he himself had founded attracted so much attention.

Luther became more and more audacious. In the struggle with his adversaries, the dogmas of the Church were thrown overboard one by one, and his own system grew more definite and radical.¹

28. The Final Break with the Church. — When Pope Leo X sent a legate to Germany to investigate the causes of the disturbance, Luther first appealed to the pope himself, later from the ill-informed pope to a better-informed one — a step which was revolution pure and simple — then from any pope to a General Council, next from all Councils to the Bible, and lastly from the Bible to himself as the supreme judge of the right interpretation of the Bible. Several of the books of Holy Writ were pointed out to him as being in the most glaring contrast to his self-made teachings. He boldly declared they did not belong to the Bible at all. He still wrote most submissive letters to the Roman Pontiff, while in his works he reviled him as the Antichrist and worse than the Turk. Since 1519 he appears resolved to break completely with the Church.

¹ On Luther see the pamphlet, *The Facts about Luther*, by P. O'Hare.

By this time he had rejected the supernatural efficacy of the sacraments; had declared void the religious vows, and the duty of celibacy in priests; had deprived matrimony of its supernatural character as sacrament and of its indissolubility; had denied the dignity and jurisdiction of pope and bishops; and had invited the emperor and other temporal rulers to seize upon the rich ecclesiastical possessions, including the Papal States.

Several attempts to win back Luther by kindness had failed. At last the pope solemnly condemned forty-one of his theses and expressly threatened excommunication against him if he would not recant within sixty days. Counting upon the support of his humanist friends and of all the dissatisfied elements in clergy and laity, on the protection of his prince, the Elector of Saxony, and on the assistance of a wide-spread party of disgruntled knights, Luther defied the papal verdict. He secured a copy of the bull and in view of a large crowd of students and people threw it into a bonfire before the gates of Wittenberg, December 10, 1520. Thus the break with the Church and the whole Christian past was finally sealed.

29. Luther before the Diet of Worms. — In 1519 Emperor Maximilian had died. One of his last acts had been an earnest and rather gloomy letter to the Roman authorities to bring to their notice the innovations that were taking place in the empire. He was succeeded by his grandson Charles, king of the vast Spanish dominions in both hemispheres.¹

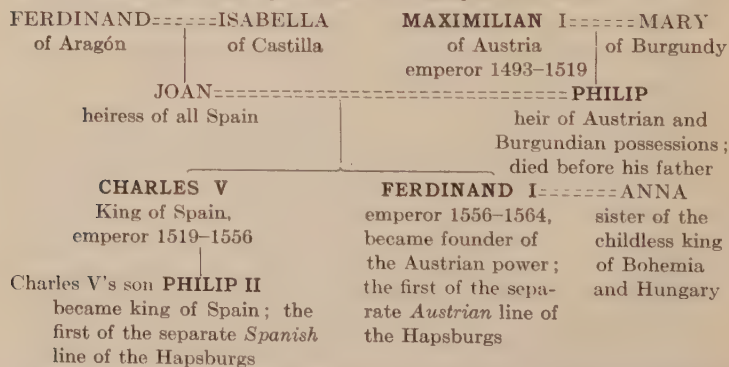
The young Emperor Charles V saw himself confronted with the religious complications in Germany. The numerous and powerful adherents of the apostate monk demanded that the emperor take the matter in hand. Since the highest ecclesiastical authority had meanwhile given a final verdict, Charles V consistently refused to allow a formal judicial proceeding. But he consented that Luther be given another chance to declare his submission, and promised to intercede for him with the Supreme Pontiff.

¹ See footnote marked with an asterisk (*) at the bottom of the next page.

With an imperial safe-conduct Luther came to the Diet at Worms, 1521, the first which Charles held. But the monk's obstinacy destroyed every hope of reconciliation. The emperor pronounced against him the "Edict of Worms," which was to take effect after sixty days. It declared Luther an outlaw, ordered his books to be burned, and forbade all Germans to profess his doctrines or give him any assistance or encouragement. The Elector of Saxony and other princes, however, refused to allow the edict to be carried out in their territories and were too powerful to be forced into obedience.¹

¹ Luther possessed a perfect control of his native tongue and knew how to talk to the common people. This, together with an incredible capacity for work, is one of the many causes of his success. Pamphlets and leaflets were his favorite weapons, and they always appeared at the right moment. In 1521 he began his German translation of the Bible, which is recognized to be more genuinely German than any of the eighteen that preceded it. (He did not make the language, as is often claimed; but he devoted much time and study to mastering it more thoroughly.) He did not scruple to manipulate the sacred text so as to suit his own new doctrines. One of his Catholic opponents stated that he had counted not less than 1400 false or inaccurate renderings. Luther's Bible had an enormous sale and incidentally contributed much to fix and generalize the language. It was soon, however, successfully rivaled by good Catholic translations.

* The following table will help to clear up the family connections which led to this accumulation of power and its subsequent division.



The symbol ===== means "married." The names of Hapsburg princes are printed in heavy capitals.

30. The Rebellion of the Lower Nobility. — When Luther defied the pope, he counted on a revolutionary movement which was spreading in the empire. It proceeded from two strata of the population, the lower nobility and the peasants.

The ascendancy of the foot soldier (§ 9) had deprived the lower nobility of their natural occupation. The English knights had found another field of usefulness, but the German knights had not. This numerous class consisted of men who owned each a castle with some land, which in many cases did not yield enough to allow them the expensive style of living which they thought was the privilege of their station. Moreover, the old national laws were gradually supplanted by the Roman law, which greatly favored the power of territorial rulers. Though exemplary in many ways it was after all a foreign law, grown out of different circumstances. It did away with the old popular courts and introduced new ones presided over by trained jurists, who managed to draw out the proceedings in order to get larger fees. For poorer people, including the lower nobility, it was very difficult to obtain redress. There was, therefore, a general state of discontent, which drove many knights into the ranks of the highway robbers.

One Franz von Sickingen had made himself the champion of the "oppressed" knights. By the promise of unlimited plunder he gathered large bands around him, harassed the cities and princes, extorted large sums of money, and tormented and killed the helpless inhabitants of villages and monasteries. For a change he served as a French general. Luther's declamations and writings against pope and bishops made Sickingen a soldier of the "Gospel." Ulrich von Hutten, a profligate of the same stamp, but also a writer of elegant Latin verse, had helped to gain him for the cause of Luther.

After the Diet of Worms, Sickingen conceived the plan of building up a kingdom for the new religion. He even thought of dislodging the emperor and driving the pope out of Italy. He secretly gathered thousands of knights and marched, in

1522, against the Archbishop of Trier, an uncompromising opponent of Luther's "Gospel." But the attack upon the city failed. Sickingen retired, devastating the country fearfully. He soon fell mortally wounded while defending his own castle. This was the first war waged in the name of the new religion.

31. The Rebellion of the Peasants. — During the preceding century the German peasants, whether serfs or not, had, on the whole, been prosperous. But this prosperity was rapidly declining.

The rise of commerce had caused the formation of merchants' companies, or trusts, which artificially raised the price of all commodities. The peasants themselves had become involved in debts by their extravagance. But historians mention above all the introduction of the Roman law as one of the chief causes of the deterioration of their condition. Then came the "Gospel" of Luther. "His pamphlets were full of appeals to the worst human passions. The burning of convents, the plundering and slaying of priests and bishops, was declared to be not only pleasing to God but necessary under pain of damnation. He heaped calumnies and insults on the princes who closed their countries to his 'Gospel,' and hurled invectives even against the emperor himself." The peasants drew their own conclusions from this gospel of hate. They formulated their demands, some of which, however, were fully justified, in what they called the Peasants' Articles. Large sections of these they had taken from Luther's writings. Their banner was the *Bundschuh*, a coarse peasant's clog, raised upon a pole.

Thus began the frightful revolution called the Peasants' War, which involved about one fifth of Germany. It took armies of ten and twenty thousand soldiers to put it down. There had been other peasants' risings in Germany before this, but never had such acts of fiendish cruelty been committed. It was the effect of the preaching of Luther and the Lutherans. The soldiers on their part retaliated with equal ferocity. When Luther perceived that the cause of the peasants was lost, he

savagely turned against them and hounded on the princes to inflict the most terrible punishments.

As a result of this war, more than a thousand castles and monasteries lay in ashes on a territory smaller than the State of Ohio. Contemporary writers estimate the number of the slain at 150,000. The country swarmed with beggared widows and orphans. As the original records were destroyed, the peasants had to consent to new terms or were refused definite contracts.¹ In the seventeenth century the Thirty Years' War completed the degradation of most of the German peasantry. It was long before they rose again to the prosperity they had possessed in the fifteenth century.

32. Lutheranism and the Temporal Rulers. — By his attitude during and after the Peasants' War, Luther had forfeited the adherence of the lower classes. The new doctrine had put an end to the episcopal jurisdiction (that is, the jurisdiction of the bishops of the Church) in the territories of certain princes. Hence Luther now turned to these temporal rulers and made them heads of their respective "churches." There were now as many "popes" as Lutheran princes. In these principalities the "Church" became the servant of the state, a kind of spiritual police department.²

In former centuries the people could appeal from a tyrannical Henry IV of Germany, or a Henry II of England, or a Philip II

¹ While the horrible carnage was going on, Martin Luther celebrated his wedding with Katharine von Bora, an escaped nun.

² In a Diet held at Speyer (Spies), 1529, the Catholic party, still in the majority, had an imperial edict passed which forbade the Lutheran princes to molest their Catholic subjects. Against this fair enactment the Lutherans "protested," and henceforth they, as well as all those sects that arose later, were designated as *Protestants*. This merely negative term strikingly expresses the fact that the new religion has not produced any positive element for the betterment of mankind. The following year, at Augsburg, the Protestant princes presented to the emperor a lengthy document, which set forth their belief. It is called the *Augsburg Confession* and is recognized by the Lutherans as their creed. It was, however, opposed by some of their own number from the beginning.

of France to a higher judge, the Roman pontiff. The very presence of an independent priesthood was a check on princely despotism. The new religion rendered the subject helpless. There was already a strong tendency in all rulers, great and small, to make themselves absolute. Luther and the movement

he started enormously furthered this tendency. It is now that princely absolutism reaches its climax. Catholic rulers also succumbed to this contagious disease.



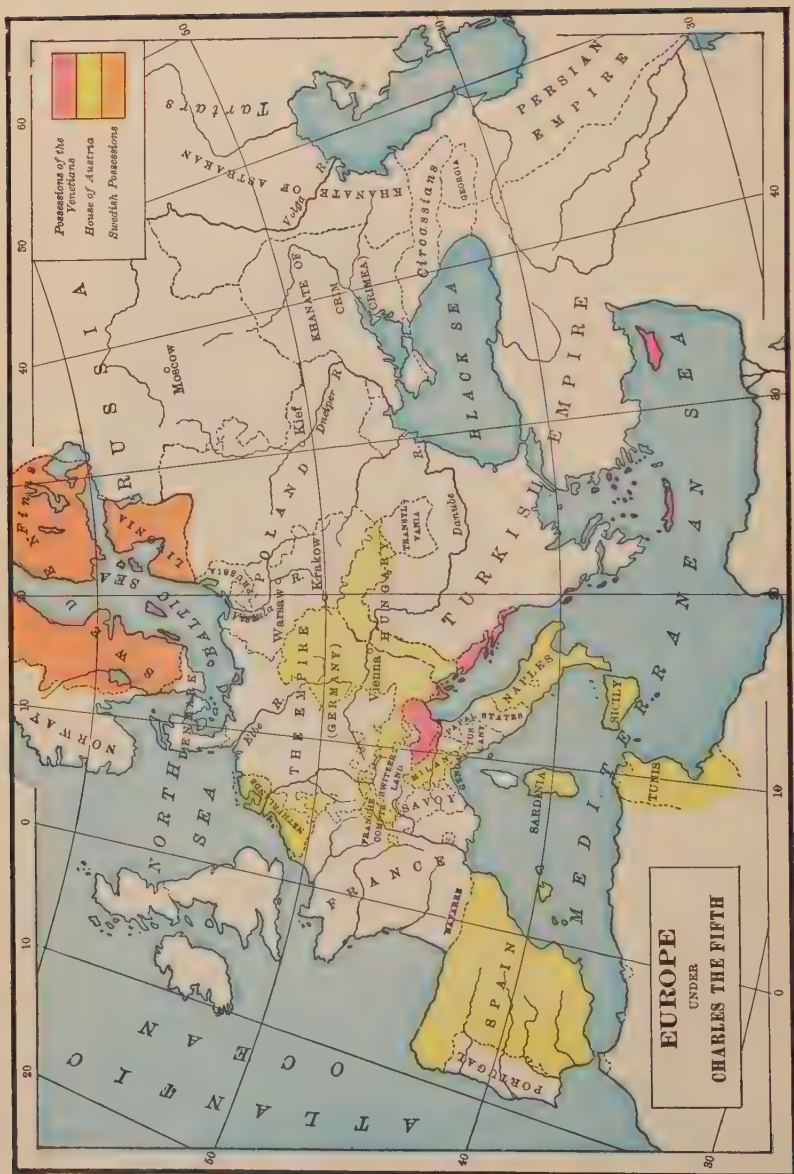
EMPEROR CHARLES V

EMPEROR CHARLES V
(1519-1556)

33. Charles V and the Religious Question.—

Charles V was sincerely attached to the Church and resolved to preserve Germany in the Catholic religion. But his difficulties were great. He had many troubles in his kingdom of Spain. His almost continuous wars kept him

away very frequently from the empire and made him dependent on the good will of his subjects. This was the basis for his ill-advised policy of reconciliation, which led him to expect too much from concessions to the innovators. Had he shown more firmness, no doubt the losses of the Church would have been smaller. Toward the end of his reign he even meddled in doctrinal matters. He had set his hope upon a General Council to be celebrated on German soil, but the means he used to bring it about and his attempts at interfering with its workings can-



not but be severely condemned. On the other hand he certainly was instrumental in saving at least one half of Germany for the true faith.

His brother Ferdinand, who commonly represented the absent emperor, though personally a devout Catholic, shared his too conciliatory views.

34. The Foreign Wars of Charles V. — Francis I, king of France, carried on four wars against the emperor. In the second, which the French king began contrary to his sworn promise, even Pope Clement VII was on his side, because it seemed the emperor might become too powerful in Italy. The pope, however, soon wished to withdraw, and in fact an armistice had already been arranged for. But the imperial army, consisting of German Lutherans, Spaniards, and Italians, demanded the arrears of their pay. When this was not forthcoming, they marched against Rome. Their leader fell while scaling the walls; and thus Rome, the most cultured city of the world, was for a whole month at the mercy of some 40,000 troopers with nobody to control them. Deeds of unspeakable cruelty and destruction were perpetrated. The peace which concluded this war is called the *Ladies' Peace*, because its conditions were fixed by the mother of Francis and the aunt of Charles.

In 1530 Charles V was crowned by Pope Clement VII in Bologna — the last coronation of an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. All his successors were merely “emperors elect.”

35. The Turks meanwhile under their Sultan Solyman had overrun all Hungary. At the battle of Mohács, 1526, they routed the Christian forces. The king and the flower of Hungarian knighthood fell on the battlefield. Solyman then with an army of 200,000 men laid siege to Vienna, the capital of the Austrian dominions, 1529. The garrison of not more than 12,000, under their aged commander, Count Salm, held out heroically, until the approach of the winter forced the Turks to retreat. Two years later an army of Germans and Hungarians,

partly equipped at the expense of Pope Clement VII, saved the northwest of Hungary from Turkish domination.

In 1533 Charles carried out a successful expedition against the Mohammedans in Tunis and freed 20,000 Christian captives.

This victory brought on another war between Francis I and the emperor. Francis even entered into an alliance with Soly-

man. Combined French and Turkish ships preyed upon the commerce of Christians in the Mediterranean. In the French wars, the emperor held his own quite well against all aggressions.



FRANCIS I

36. The Rebellion of the Protestant Princes. — A number of Lutheran princes of the empire formed an alliance for the purpose of promoting Protestantism and preventing the Catholics from regaining the ecclesiastical possessions which the Protestants had seized by various methods of fraud and

force. When the emperor ordered them to dissolve the revolutionary league, they refused, but were signally defeated. Maurice, Duke of Saxony, though a Lutheran, had sided with the emperor, and as a reward was made Elector. To regain his lost prestige among the Protestants he dastardly turned against the unsuspecting emperor, and began a series of horrible depredations against Catholic territories. The emperor, completely unprepared, barely escaped captivity.

Broken and discouraged, Charles V concluded with the Protestants the "*Religious Peace of Augsburg*," 1555. This agreement established the principle, *Cujus Regio, Illius Religio* (whose is the country, his is the religion), that is, the religion of

the prince determines what religion the subjects are to profess, and if they refuse to do so they must emigrate. Of course this principle might be applied and was actually resorted to by Catholic princes as well. It was another strengthening of autocracy. It was also provided that Church property confiscated before 1555 would remain in the hands of its present holders, but no more was to be taken in the future.

To secure the aid of the French king for his purpose, Maurice the rebel had entered into an alliance with him and gave the three German cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun into his hands. This was the first of the steps by which Alsace and Lorraine became French.

37. Charles V's Successors. — A year after the Peace of Augsburg Charles V abdicated his dignities both as emperor and as king of Spain. His brother Ferdinand followed him as emperor (elect) and possessor of the Austrian dominions. His son Philip II received Spain, the Netherlands, Milan, and Naples. Charles withdrew to a Spanish monastery, where he devoted his time to works of piety and study. He died in 1558.

Supported by the claims of his wife, Ferdinand had been elected hereditary king by the Hungarians after the Bohemians had chosen him to the same position in their own country. He thus became the founder of the power of Austria.

By this division of the Hapsburg possessions, there were established two branches of the family, the Austrian line beginning with Ferdinand, and the Spanish line beginning with Philip. (See the table on page 40.)

The religious troubles had enormously increased the weakness of Germany. Hence the French kings turned their aggressiveness from Italy to their northeastern neighbor. Here neither Alps nor Pyrenees stood in the way, while domestic dissensions and the lack of a strong central power made defense difficult. For the next hundred years we find the French kings nearly always in alliance with the Protestant German princes against the Catholic emperor.

FURTHER EXTENSION OF PROTESTANTISM

38. **Ulrich Zwingli**, a priest in Switzerland, started a "reformation" in his own country, in 1519, two years after and similar to that of Luther. He, too, rejected the authority of pope and bishops, the celibacy of the priests, the religious vows, the necessity of good works. The usual plundering of monasteries and confiscation of Church property followed, and was one of the motives that induced several cantons to accept the innovation. Others, however, the three original "Forest Cantons" among them, remained faithful to the Catholic Church. Like their German brethren the Swiss reformers were soon at war with their Catholic fellow citizens. Zwingli himself fell in one of the civil strifes (1531). There was a deadly hatred between Zwingli and Luther, because the former took the liberty of explaining Holy Scripture in a different way. Zwinglianism was subsequently merged into Calvinism.

39. **John Calvin**, a Frenchman, entered upon his public career as heretic in 1534. The most characteristic doctrine of his system is that every man has been predestined beforehand by God to either heaven or hell, so that it is not in his power to change his final fate. Calvin gave to his "church" a strictly democratic mode of government. There are no bishops; the highest officials are the priests or rather ministers elected by the congregation. Hence the name of *Presbyterianism* from *presbyter*, priest.

Calvinism spread through parts of France, Germany, and Holland, and to Scotland. From the latter country it came to England under the name of *Puritanism*, so called from its tendency to "purify" the divine service of every trace of the old Roman rites. But its real home is the city of *Geneva*, now belonging to Switzerland. Here Calvin himself ruled with Draconic severity. The churches were stripped of altars, pictures, statues, and every kind of ornamentation. The most rigorous laws regulated the minutest details in the life of the people.

The whole city rose at four o'clock. Recreations were severely restricted. A dressmaker was put in jail for three days for making the dress of a bride too beautiful. Within four years there were more than 800 cases of imprisonment, 76 decrees of exile, and 58 executions among the 15,000 inhabitants. A Spanish physician, Servetus, who denied the Blessed Trinity, happened to come to Geneva. He was arrested, found guilty of heresy, and burned at the stake¹—with the approval of the Swiss and German Protestant authorities. Calvin kept himself in power by the assistance of the numerous foreigners who went to Geneva to study theology under him, and who all became citizens directly upon their arrival. (See Guggenberger, II, 211–213.)



JOHN CALVIN

Calvinism was the most aggressive and intolerant of the new "religions." None tends more relentlessly toward complete civic and political influence.

40. Protestantism in Other Countries of the Continent.—Beyond the northeastern frontier of the Empire along the shores of the Baltic the Teutonic Knights had founded an independent state of their own. The Knights were one of the several religious and military orders founded during the crusades for the purpose of defending the Holy Land against the infidels. In the thir-

¹ Servetus was an investigator of rare ability. He had discovered the circulation of the blood. It was a misfortune for him and for the science of medicine that he did not refrain from dabbling in theology. His theory was embodied in the theological work which cost him his life, and of which only two copies survived him. The important discovery was made again fifty years later by the English physician Harvey. See Walsh, *The Century of Columbus*, pages 369 and 370.

teenth century the Teutonic Knights had transferred their activity to the shores of the Baltic and had gradually spread Christian religion and civilization among the fierce pagan Prussians and other tribes. Later, however, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they had involved themselves in wars with the Christian Poles and, as a consequence, had lost all their lands except East Prussia; and even this remaining territory the order held as a vassal of the Polish king.

In Luther's time Albrecht of Brandenburg-Anspach, a member of the Hohenzollern family which since 1414 had ruled the Electorate of Brandenburg, became head or grand master of the order. Like Luther he broke his religious vows, changed East Prussia into a secular vassal state of Poland, and forcibly introduced Lutheranism. Those of the Knights who remained faithful to their religion and their vows withdrew to their possessions in southern Germany, where the order existed until 1803.

The family of Duke Albrecht died out with his own children. But he had made an agreement with the Hohenzollern princes of Brandenburg that on his death the duchy of East Prussia should be united with the Electorate of Brandenburg. The annexation, which made East Prussia a province of Brandenburg, took place in 1618.

Livonia, the northeastern part of the order's dominions, preserved the Catholic religion some thirty years longer. Then its "Army-Master" took the same step as Albrecht of Prussia, and the land became a Polish fief. Later on the Swedes and finally the Russians occupied Livonia.

In *Poland* the spread of Protestantism was pretty well checked, though its few adherents obtained bare toleration. *Transylvania*, a vassal state of Hungary, became entirely Lutheran. In *Hungary* the Calvinists grew so numerous that they could successfully demand freedom of public worship. But the country as such remained Catholic.

In *Sweden* Gustavus Vasa, justly admired as the hero of Swedish liberty, turned traitor to his better self and by all man-

ner of deceit and violence forced Lutheranism upon the country. In *Denmark* and *Norway* the new religion was introduced by the same means. Everywhere the change of religion brought with it a considerable diminution of popular liberty. The republic of Iceland lost both liberty and religion and became a Danish province.

CHAPTER III

THE BRITISH ISLES DURING THE REFORMATION PERIOD

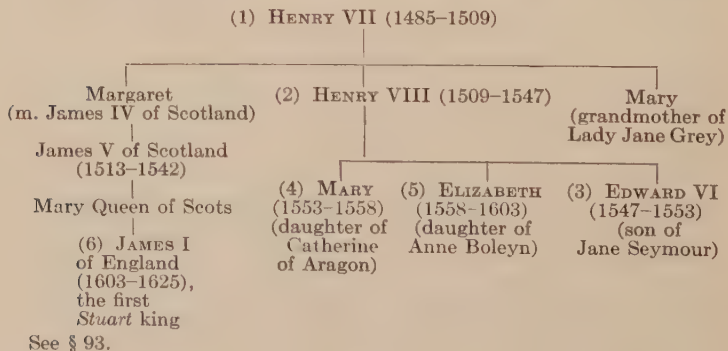
ENGLAND

HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI (1509-1547-1553)

41. Henry VIII and the Church. — In Germany the Protestant Reformation was chiefly the work of the princes. But great religious abuses and still more serious economic evils had prepared the way for it. This is much less the case in England. The setting up of a separate English "Church" is the achievement of one man, King Henry VIII, the second of the Tudor kings.¹

Henry VIII was married to Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella (§ 29, note) and aunt of Charles V. She had, however, been the wife of Henry's deceased brother Arthur. There is an ecclesiastical impediment against the

¹ The following table of Tudor rulers shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family.



marriage with a brother's widow. But in Henry's case this impediment had been removed by papal dispensation. The union was blessed with five children, all of whom died in their infancy except the Princess Mary.

When the Lutheran revolution broke out in Germany, Henry VIII opposed it with might and main, and had the English laws against heretics carried out in full severity. He even wrote a Latin book against Luther in defense of the seven sacraments. For this work Pope Leo X gave him the title of "Defensor Fidei" (Defender of the Faith), which the English Parliament still confers upon the king.



HENRY VIII

(From a painting by Holbein.)

42. Apostasy.—But the king became the slave of a low passion for another woman, Anne Boleyn. Soon he feigned scruples of conscience concerning his marriage with Catherine, and began to think of a separation from her. He knew that there is a law in the Church which withdraws all marriage questions of rulers from the jurisdiction of the bishops and reserves them exclusively to the Sovereign Pontiff. So he tried all the means in his power to obtain from the pope a declaration of the nullity of his union with Catherine. But in vain. All the pope ever granted was the appointment of a commission to investigate the case in England. Cardinal Wolsey, the king's favorite, was made a member of it. But this effort, too, came to naught. In great rage Henry VIII dismissed Cardinal Wolsey from his service and was on the point of having him executed for treason, when, happily, the humiliated prelate died of grief. All hope of obtaining satisfaction from Rome had to be given up.

The king now resolved to throw off allegiance to the pope. He required the English bishops to recognize him as the head of the Church in England, which they did, in the face of his threats, though not without a weak protest. At this juncture Warham,



CARDINAL WOLSEY

the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and Henry intruded into the primatial see one of his creatures, Thomas Cranmer, who had imbibed Lutheran heresies in Germany and was secretly married to a niece of one of the German reformers. Without the slightest hesitation Cranmer granted the desired divorce. Henry VIII at once banished Catherine and Princess Mary from his court, married Anne Boleyn, and had her crowned with unusual solemnity. In 1534 a servile parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, which declared

that "*the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken and accepted and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia.*"

A Protestant writer bears witness to the fact that there was no general dislike of the papal jurisdiction in Church matters. He writes: "I fail to see any evidence of such a feeling in the copious correspondence of the twenty years preceding. . . . Moreover, if any such general desire for the abolition of his (the pope's) authority existed, I cannot, for my part, understand why there never was any attempt to throw off papal jurisdiction before the days of Henry VIII." (Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, Volume I, page 4.)

43. Henry VIII did not make England Lutheran or Calvinistic. Catholic dogma remained practically intact — with the exception of the Roman Primacy. Mass continued to be said; the seven sacraments were administered; clerical celibacy was not abolished; the services in the churches were held with the same ceremonies. A visit of Protestant divines from Germany, arranged for by Cranmer for the purpose of injecting some more advanced ideas into the English Church, was a complete failure. The archbishop was obliged to repress his Lutheran propensities until the death of this king.¹

44. **Persecutions.** — The new “pope” of England brooked no resistance. Most of the bishops and prominent laymen took the prescribed Oath of Supremacy, but the number of those who had the courage of their conviction was great. Several hundred friars and monks either were executed or banished or died in foul dungeons. The most illustrious



THOMAS MORE

¹ The antics gone through with the Bible are amusing. Before his apostasy the king prohibited the use of an English translation of the New Testament by Tyndale, which was full of glaring errors. In 1537, that is, three years after his revolt, an English edition of Holy Writ containing this same New Testament was officially introduced and ordered to be placed publicly in all the parish churches and made accessible to everybody. In 1543 a royal decree withdrew this Bible and prescribed a new one in its stead. But henceforward the Word of God was not to be read in public by any laymen; all persons of nobility, however, might peruse it privately and read it to their families. Of the lower classes the householders only were allowed to peruse it privately, while their wives, children, and employees must neither read nor hear it under pain of a month's imprisonment for each offense. *The King's Book*, a volume of popular instruction, now replaced the Bible for the bulk of the nation.

victims of Henry's wrath were John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Thomas More, Chancellor of England, both renowned as accomplished scholars far beyond the boundaries of their country. While imprisoned in the Tower, Bishop Fisher was made cardinal by the pope, whereupon the king cynically remarked, "The pope may send him the Red Hat, but I shall take care that there will be no head to put it on."

45. The Dissolution of the Monasteries. — England was covered with hundreds of abbeys and other monastic institutions, many of which had grown very rich. The king and his greedy partisans among the nobility coveted them. A pretext had to be found, so a commission was sent out to examine the spiritual condition of the monasteries. It reported that in the smaller houses, which had less than two hundred pounds revenue a year, monastic discipline lay prostrate, while "in the honorable and solemn monasteries of this realm . . . religion is right well kept and observed." The reports were woefully garbled or, as some maintain, simply forged. Parliament, though on the whole servile to the royal will, at first recoiled from giving its consent to so unheard of a scheme of robbery. But it was frightened by threats, and after some hesitation passed the bill, which granted to the king all the estates and movable property of some 270 houses.

This robbery roused the people in the northern counties. They banded together and marched upon London. They were armed but committed no excesses. Wherever they came they restored the monasteries to the former owners. They did not mean to rebel, but hoped by this armed demonstration, which they called the "Pilgrimage of Grace," to change the mind of the king. By promises and double dealing Henry VIII prevailed on them to return to their homes. When they saw that no promises were kept, revolts broke out in some places. The king sent an armed force with orders to cause "a dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of inhabitants of every town, village and hamlet, . . . as well by the hanging of them

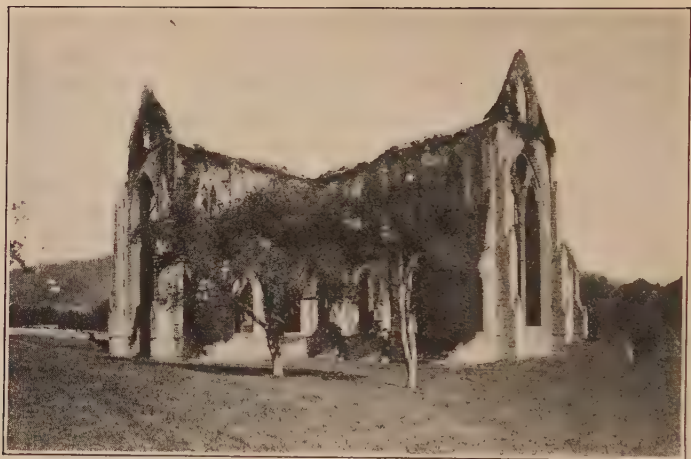
up in the trees as by quartering them. . . . You shall also without pity or circumstance . . . cause all the monks and canons that be in any wise faulty to be tied up without further delay or ceremony."

46. The Pilgrimage of Grace furnished a welcome plea for the suppression of the large monasteries. This work of robbery began without any previous decree of parliament. Upon the most flimsy charges, by threats and manufactured evidence, the heads of the monasteries were either carried to prison and executed, or forced to surrender their possessions "voluntarily." Later on it was thought desirable to secure an act of parliament, which in due formality transferred to the king all the movable and immovable property of these and all similar institutions, including the sacred vessels and vestments of their churches.

Several hundred hospitals also were confiscated without any provision for the numerous destitute patients. The schools connected with the convents disappeared. Finally came the destruction of the shrines of saints in all the churches. The tombs of Sts. Augustine and Thomas à Becket and even that of Alfred the Great were not spared. Whole libraries of priceless manuscripts were disposed of to grocers and soapsellers. The estates were sold, or donated to noblemen and other royal favorites and parasites.

"The noble buildings (of the abbeys), raised in the view of lasting for countless ages, must not be suffered to stand. In most instances gunpowder was resorted to, and thus, in a few hours, the most magnificent structures, which it had required ages to bring to perfection, were made heaps of ruins. The whole country was thus disfigured; it had the appearance of a land recently invaded by the most brutal barbarians." (Extracts from William Cobbett (Protestant), *History of the Protestant Reformation*, §§ 181, 182.)

47. **Economic Consequences of the Suppression of the Monasteries.** — It should be stated here that Henry VIII's successor, Edward VI, completed the work of destruction by sweeping away all charitable institutions which had survived his father. At



TINTERN ABBEY (above) AND GLASTONBURY ABBEY

Both abbeys were suppressed by Henry VIII and allowed to fall into ruins. The monastic buildings have completely disappeared ; only the ruins of the churches are shown here.

the same time he confiscated the property of some 30,000 guilds (§ 10), which had been very useful in encouraging thrift and coöperation.

The rural population was already suffering under the effects of a change in agricultural methods. The rich landlords took over their lands and even their share of the public commons for sheep-raising, because they could sell the wool at high prices in Flanders. Hence fruit-fields were changed into meadows, and with the fields disappeared the cultivators. Whole villages were razed to the ground, and large numbers of peasants lost their homes and occupations.

But it was the destruction of the monastic institutions that struck the heaviest blow at the happiness of a considerable part of the rural population. The monks had been easy landlords. They had acted at the same time as the protectors and supporters of the poor and indigent. The new owners were vastly different men, bound to the tenants by no ties of conscience or tradition. Rackrents replaced the fair terms, and drove many tenants away from holdings where their forefathers had lived contentedly for centuries. In many cases tenants were no longer wanted. It is estimated that by the suppression of the monasteries about a hundred thousand persons lost their means of livelihood, not counting the monks and nuns themselves, who were now poorer than their former dependents.

“A multitude of able-bodied men were consequently without employment or property; and the law treated them without discrimination as rogues and vagabonds. Indeed the laws against vagrancy were sharpened in this iron age, and a second or third lapse into vagrancy was punished from 1536 onward with a felon’s death.”¹ (Charles S. Devas, *Political Economy*, page 537.)

¹ In later reigns an improvement was made when the numerous poor were no longer treated as criminals. Under Elizabeth the so-called *poor-laws* began to be passed, which obliged the municipalities to support the impotent poor and find work for the able-bodied. These laws, however, well-nigh made the poor the slaves of the civil community and placed them in a separate and despised class as “paupers.” England had no poor-laws as long as the monasteries existed.

With the monasteries ended also their splendid patronage of poor students. The destruction of the convent schools and the general decline of prosperity among the lower classes made it almost impossible for the less wealthy parents to give their sons the education preparatory to university studies. The number of university students dwindled fast. A Protestant bishop, Latimer, wrote that in 1550 the students in these abodes of learning numbered less by 20,000 than in 1530.

"Viewed merely from its social aspect," says Cardinal Gasquet, "the English Reformation is the rising of the rich against the poor." (In Preface to Cobbett's *History of the Reformation*.)

48. The Wives and Children of Henry VIII. — After his "divorce" from Catherine of Aragon, Henry lived fourteen years, during which time he married five "wives." Anne Boleyn gave him a daughter, Elizabeth, later queen, but soon fell under suspicion and was beheaded. Cranmer now declared that she had never been Henry's wife. The day after her execution the king married her maid of honor, Jane Seymour, who died the following year in giving birth to a son, the later King Edward. The next wife, Anne of Cleves, was divorced and parted without a quarrel. The same year Catherine Howard became the king's consort, but died two years later on the scaffold. Catherine Parr, the sixth "queen," had the good luck to survive her husband.

A law of succession secured the crown first to Edward, and should he die without children, then to Mary, and finally to Elizabeth.

49. Edward VI (1547–1553), son of Henry VIII, came to the throne as a child of ten years. The men who conducted the regency favored a more thoroughgoing "reformation." Archbishop Cranmer saw his chance and knew how to utilize it. The property of the guilds (§ 10) and of other charitable institutions was swept into the royal treasury or the coffers of the ruling party. The Anglican creed was radically changed. The sacrifice of the Mass, the belief in the real presence of Christ in

the Blessed Sacrament, purgatory, the veneration of the saints, ceremonies, vows, the celibacy of priests, were rejected. As a consequence, altars, sacred vestments and vessels, the statues and pictures of the churches, were now destroyed or confiscated. A commission under the presidency of Cranmer compiled the *Book of Common Prayer* in English. It received its finishing touches under Elizabeth. It takes the place of Catholic missals and similar books.

MARY TUDOR

50. Mary (1553–1558) considered it the task of her life to reëstablish in England the religion of her forefathers. England was still overwhelmingly Catholic. A great obstacle to a Catholic restoration was found in the fact that the immense ecclesiastical property could not be demanded back



MARY TUDOR

from the present possessors without causing a widespread confusion, because many parcels of this property had changed hands repeatedly. Not to disturb the state of the country, the pope, making use of his power as supreme administrator of all possessions of the Church, dispensed all the owners from the duty of restitution. England was solemnly reunited with the Catholic world.

Mary began to encourage again the studies in the national universities, and her noble example evoked the liberality of several rich men, who established "colleges" in these institutions. To her are due the first commercial treaty between England and Russia and the suppression of special privileges in foreign trade. Both these measures gave a great stimulus to

English commerce. She was the first English ruler to emphasize the duty of judges to admit evidence against the crown in law-suits, and to decide against a royal suitor if justice required it. Almost immediately upon her accession she restored the currency, which had been greatly depreciated under her father, to its original value, and remitted an extra tax which the late parliament had granted to the crown.

51. The Spanish Marriage. — When it became known that the queen had resolved to marry Philip, the son of Emperor Charles V, who was to succeed his father as king of Spain, Protestants and Catholics joined in protesting against a measure which would almost certainly entangle England in continental rivalries. The House of Commons voted an address to the sovereign asking her to desist from her plan and to select a husband from the nobility of the country. In this matter, however, Mary would not listen to advice, and finally obtained the reluctant consent of parliament.

The marriage contract provided that the government of England should be vested in the queen alone; that no offices should be bestowed upon foreigners; and that the issue of this union should inherit the Netherlands. No settlement for the marriage of any member of the English royal family had ever been so exclusively favorable to England.

52. The Persecution of Heretics. — Although the bulk of the nation was again Catholic, Mary thought it her duty to hasten the religious unification of England by proceeding with greater harshness against the Protestants. Although we cannot condone the cruelties of this persecution, we must keep in mind that Mary lived in a time when modern tolerance was unknown. Her heart had become embittered by several conspiracies against her and by the incessant virulent attacks against her government and her person on the part of the heretical preachers. Rebellion and treason had been fomented by heresy and she thought it proper to strike at the root of rebellion by extirpating heresy. At her request parliament reënacted a law passed in 1401 which

condemned to the stake any heretic who refused to abjure his errors. Some of her advisers urged her to moderation but sterner counsel prevailed. A committee of bishops had to try cases of heresy and to surrender those who refused to retract to the "secular arm" to be dealt with according to the English law.

About 280 persons were executed in this way during Mary's reign. Many of the victims had been implicated several times in risings or seditious attempts against the queen, but others were simple folk against whom nothing could be charged except adherence to Lutheran or Calvinistic teachings. Among the former was Thomas Cranmer, the right-hand man of Henry VIII in the latter's breach with the Holy See and the chief promoter of Protestantism under Edward VI (§§ 42, 49). To save himself he feigned conversion to the Catholic Church, but when he saw that nobody believed in the sincerity of this conversion he forthwith withdrew his declaration and died a Protestant.

53. The five years of Mary's reign were full of sorrows. Failure of crops caused great hardships and exerted a paralyzing influence upon industry and commerce. There was a terrible pestilence in her last year. Though there were causes enough for a war with France,¹ it was Mary's union with Philip that brought on a clash with that country. In this war, the city of Calais, the last English possession on the continent, fell into the hands of the French. The loss of Calais was a very hard blow for the queen. "The word Calais," she said, "will be found written in my heart." It furnished her enemies with a weapon to undermine her popularity. The protracted absence of her

¹ Secret agitation was ever increasing during her short reign. Defamatory libels against king and queen, printed on the continent, were found in the streets, in the palace, and in both houses of parliament; and reports were circulated that Mary, hopeless of issue, had determined to settle the crown on her husband after her decease. It was chiefly the French minister to England that was responsible for this incrimination. It led to a desperate attempt — the second — to place Elizabeth on the throne. (Lingard, Volume V, pages 496 ff.)

husband aggravated her long-standing illness. One of her severest trials was a misunderstanding with Pope Paul IV, who favored the French cause in the war.

54. Her Character. — Queen Mary was sincerely pious, very charitable, ready to make any sacrifice for her religion and her country. She certainly took no step without the conviction that it was either demanded or at least permitted by the law of God, and that it would be beneficial to her country. Her marriage with Philip is often deemed a political mistake. But a just verdict is difficult. It is highly probable that, had her reign lasted several decades, she would have succeeded in giving to her beloved country peace and prosperity together with the blessings of the true religion.¹

ELIZABETH

55. Elizabeth (1558–1603) and Religion. — Mary was followed on the throne by Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn (§ 42). During the previous reign the new queen had outwardly conformed to Catholic worship. Upon her accession the Catholics hoped that nothing would be changed in religious matters and offered no opposition. But they were doomed to bitter disappointment. While at first the queen made no public announcement of her religious policy she at once summoned to her council a number of men known for their Protestant views and secretly determined to abolish Catholicism.

Although she was crowned with the usual Catholic ceremonies and on that occasion took a solemn oath to maintain the Catholic religion, she had her very first parliament, meeting only ten days after her coronation, pass a number of anti-Catholic acts. Among them the Act of Supremacy (§ 42) again swept away the

¹ As a result of systematic slandering carried on during the reign of her successors, Mary has been stigmatized as the "Bloody Mary." The injustice of this epithet is now generally recognized. One of the worst instruments of slander was the lying *Book of Martyrs* by John Foxe, which pretended to give authentic reports of the non-Catholics executed under Mary. See J. M. Stone's *Studies from Court and Cloister*, pages 272–276.

pope's spiritual jurisdiction, and a special bill made it incumbent on all office holders to acknowledge by oath the sovereign as the only head of the Anglican Church. (Four years later refusal to take the oath was declared high treason to be punished by death.)



QUEEN ELIZABETH

The Book of Common Prayer was reintroduced in a somewhat revised form.¹ As a standard of Anglican teaching, the Thirty-Nine Articles were drawn up to which the clergy had to sub-

¹ With the Book of Common Prayer was introduced again the "Ordinal" of Edward VI, which prescribes the Anglican mode of ordaining priests and consecrating bishops. In it the Catholic ceremonies have been so curtailed and altered as to exclude most carefully the idea of bestowing the power to offer sacrifice, the power of real priesthood. Consequently the Anglican bishops, all of whom are consecrated according to this book, cannot claim the true power of bishops and successors of the Apostles. Furthermore, the Anglican clergymen are not priests. For references see "Anglican Ordinations" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

scribe. Somewhat later, assistance on certain days at the Anglican service was enjoined under the penalty of exorbitant fines.

56. Persecution. — But the Catholic recovery under Mary had put a new spirit into the Church. Unlike those of Henry VIII, all the bishops, except one, now refused to betray their sacred office by taking the Oath of Supremacy. The parish priests likewise for the most part declined to submit to Elizabeth's pretensions and were expelled from their parishes. The bishops fared worse, most of them being sent to prison for the rest of their lives.

This removal of the clergy had disastrous consequences for the people. Left without guidance and hearing nothing but slanders against the Church and its clergy, many of them gradually drifted into the Anglican Church. The heavy fines, moreover, and the exclusion from every office reduced numerous prominent Catholic families to beggary and resulted in lowering the social standing and influence of the Catholic body.

Not all Catholics, however, were prepared to submit tamely to the extirpation of the faith in England. In November, 1569, a number of Catholic lords in the northern counties arose, resolved to strike a blow in defense of the old religion and to liberate Mary Stuart (§ 64). The attempt failed for want of union and organization. The leaders who did not escape and about nine hundred of their followers were executed.

A few months after the rising Pope Pius V issued a bull of excommunication and deposition against Elizabeth. It was to coincide with the northern rising but came too late. Though it did not for a moment render the throne of the Protestant queen insecure, it certainly opened the eyes of those Catholics who had hitherto wavered between their faith and submission to Elizabeth's state church.

On the other hand, the queen, who during the first years of her reign had been somewhat cautious and reluctant in enforcing the anti-Catholic laws, now threw all hesitation to the wind. More stringent laws were added to the already existing legisla-

tion and an unrelenting war was waged to the end of her life against the Catholic Church. Yet at the close of this frightful period a considerable and heroic minority still clung to the faith in which their fathers for over nine centuries had lived and died.

Priests and all those who had given them shelter and hospitality were subject to the cruel punishment inflicted for treason. Among those whose execution attracted the widest attention was Blessed Edmund Campion, before his conversion to the Catholic Faith one of the most renowned university men of England. The queen herself had in person made an attempt to win him back to the Anglican creed. The Catholics of means suffered not only by imprisonment and fines but also by endless domiciliary visits. On such occasions a sheriff at the head of an eager crowd broke into the house, generally by night. Every bed and box and cupboard were searched, the stored provisions scattered about, the wainscoting and floors torn up, and holes made in the walls, to discover priests or their hiding places or at least some sign of their presence. Unspeakable personal insults commonly accompanied this work of destruction. The trial was always for treason. But everybody knew that denial of the Catholic Faith would immediately evoke a liberating sentence.

The most distinguished lay person that suffered death under Elizabeth was *Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots*. Her execution struck a fatal blow at the prospects of the old religion in both countries (§ 64).

57. Elizabeth's Character. — Elizabeth was one of the most talented women of her time and had received a brilliant education. She spoke several languages and read Latin and Greek with ease. Like all great rulers she knew how to surround herself with able and devoted men and to profit by their advice. She was at the same time a shrewd observer of circumstances and a keen judge of men.

But her private life was dissolute and her court a hotbed of frivolity. She was essentially selfish and sought the glory of

England for her own personal glory. The feelings of true friendship and chaste womanly attachment she either never possessed or lost very early in her reign. Her speech was always sprinkled with oaths, and when opposed she was likely to utter the most terrible imprecations. To her a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty. Vanity was perhaps her most prominent weakness. She yearned for praise, and even in her old age accepted as genuine the most absurd flatteries. Disgusting is the hypocrisy with which she flaunted her "virginity" in her speeches and proclamations, and expected to be extolled above all other rulers of all ages.

58. Material Prosperity. — Elizabeth's administration was marked by great economy. The enormous fines wrung from the Catholics, the income drawn from licensed freebooting (§ 73), the monopolies which she sold, and the presents which she extorted from the nobility supplied her for the greater part of her reign with revenue and enabled her to forego more general forms of taxation. From motives of economy she avoided wars and preferred to obtain her ends by means of an unscrupulous diplomacy. The short victorious war with Spain (§ 73) only heightened the appreciation of the long peace.

Peculiar circumstances caused the landowners to return from the practice of sheep raising to real agriculture; a change which gave work to an increased number of rural laborers. The revolution of the Netherlands, besides, drove the commerce of the flourishing towns of Flanders over to England, which at this time began to be the mart of Europe. The immigration of Flemish weavers in England started an important branch of industry. The channels of commerce opened under Mary Tudor (§ 50) were utilized and extended, and the beginning of the English trade with India was made. Thus Elizabeth's reign was, for the Protestant portion of the population, at least, an age of growing prosperity, "the spacious days of great Elizabeth."

The movement of the Renaissance, which had been stifled in England since the beginning of the religious innovation, seemed

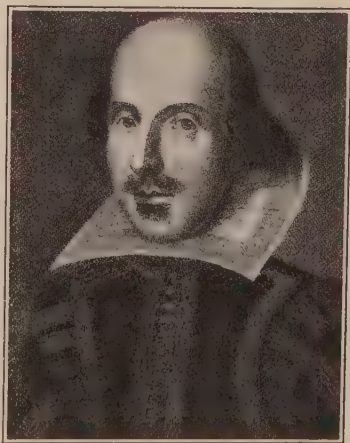
to awaken. The latter part of Elizabeth's reign saw a brilliant period of discovery and literature. *Harvey* discovered afresh the way in which the blood circulates (§ 39, note), and so helped to lay the foundation for true study of medicine. *Francis Bacon* called the world's attention to the necessity for scientific observation and experiment. *Edmund Spenser* created a new form of English poetry in his *Faerie Queene*. And the splendor of the Elizabethan age found a climax in English drama, with *Shakespeare* as the most resplendent star in a glorious galaxy that counted such other shining names as *Marlowe* and *Ben Jonson*.

59. Elizabeth's Popularity.

—The queen industriously catered to the love of the lower classes which made up the bulk of the population.

She kept her courtiers and the nobility in slavish subjection. The ceremonial in her palaces would have met with the approval of any Oriental despot. Only with innumerable genuflections were her servants allowed to approach her adorable person.

But on the many pompous parades through the country, which gratified her vanity and caught the public fancy, she gave unlimited access to the common people, listened to their complaints and chatted with them familiarly. The people did not see the vices, the profligacy, and the intrigues of her court, nor the duplicity of her diplomatic transactions with other powers. All they noticed was the blessings of half a century of peace and other happy events associated with the time of her reign. These are the sources of the popularity which she enjoyed. It grieved



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

her exceedingly when, in the very last years of her government, the enthusiastic acclamations which had always greeted her appearance in public were no longer heard.

IRELAND IN THE REFORMATION PERIOD

60. Henry VIII and Ireland. — Ireland had been nominally subject to England ever since 1171, when an English king, Henry II, went to the island and took possession of it as “ Lord of Ireland.” But for the greater part of the three and a half centuries before the Reformation actual English control extended over only a section of Ireland, the so-called “ English Pale,” a narrow strip along the east coast with Dublin as its center and capital. There the English settlers lived under English law made by an Irish parliament from which most of the real Irish were excluded. The natives outside the Pale cared little for the overlordship of the English king, and so did many descendants of the early English settlers who had more and more mixed with the native inhabitants, intermarried with them, and adopted their language and customs.

Henry VIII resolved to make the nominal rule of England outside the Pale more real. He assumed the more pretentious title of “ King of Ireland ” and, in 1541, a parliament, the first ever attended by the Irish chieftains, passed an Act of Supremacy and dissolved four hundred Irish monasteries. The property of the latter was confiscated to the king and his English courtiers, or used to bribe greedy Irish chieftains to vote for the suppression.

The measure had little effect upon the religious life of the country. The people remained in communion with the clergy and these were faithful to Rome. Under Mary, of course, the religious issue disappeared, but it came up more fiercely under Elizabeth. From now on the Irishman strove to save not only his nationality, but above all the ancient religion.

61. Insurrections and Their Suppression. — The mighty family of the Fitzgeralds had revolted against England’s rule

IRELAND

--- Approximate boundary
of the PALE in 1500.

--- Western and Southern
boundary of the "Ulsterite"
counties.



under Henry VIII. By trusting English promises six of the prominent members of the family allowed themselves to be seized, and ended their lives upon the scaffold. During the reign of Elizabeth three more insurrections followed under Shane O'Neill, Hugh O'Neill, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, and others. In spite of the most admirable bravery and some brilliant successes, these insurrections ended disastrously, largely through lack of unity among the Irish leaders. A few years after Elizabeth's death the principal chiefs, despairing of Ireland's future, fled to the continent, to return should prospects become more favorable.

62. The Plantations. — Under Henry VIII a new form of occupation had been inaugurated: the plantations. When an Irish chief rebelled, all the land belonging to his clan — though commonly not more than one tenth of the clan had taken any part in the rising — was declared forfeit to the crown and allotted to English "undertakers" who engaged to "plant" it with English or Scottish settlers. But the Irish landowners did not give up their homes good-naturedly. Hence a warfare of destruction ensued.

The invaders with the help of English soldiery sought not merely to drive the owners of the soil away but to exterminate them with their whole kin, and they employed all the means which the most unbridled brutality could suggest. History does not record deeds more atrocious than those perpetrated on thousands of unoffending Irish people during the next century and a half. The barbarities provoked risings, the risings were punished with plantations, and these led to new and more horrible cruelties. This savagery became the general character of all the English wars against the Irish. It goes without saying that under such provocation the latter often retaliated by similar outrages.

The plantation system was resorted to by all the Tudors. But it assumed unprecedented proportions when the flight of many Irish chieftains gave James I, the first Stuart king, a pre-

text for confiscating nearly two million acres in Ulster. A great part of it went to Scotch Presbyterians.¹

The question may rightly be asked, how was it possible that the whole race did not perish in such a flood of devastation. But very frequently the "undertakers" failed to obtain a sufficient number of non-Irish settlers. Most of those who actually took up land were not inclined to work with their own hands but wanted to "get rich quick" by the labor of others. Hence the Irish were retained as tenants. Moreover, the English officials were by no means impervious to bribes. As a matter of fact the Irish everywhere, except in some parts of Ulster, by far outnumbered the English and Scots.

The plantations account for the presence in Ireland of numerous Protestants, though the native population, the descendants of the original Celts as well as of the Anglo-Irish, remained Catholic to the core. The plantations, too, established the abominable system of absentee landlordism, as the new "owners" of vast tracts of Irish lands commonly did not live in Ireland. The money which their agents wrung from their starving Irish tenants was spent in England or on the continent.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

63. Introduction of the New Faith. — The kings of Scotland were of the royal family of the Stuarts. James IV had married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII (note to § 41) of England. Under their son, James V (1513–1542), Calvinistic doctrines began to spread in the country. They found favor with a part of the nobility, which, as in other lands, was hankering after the possessions of the Church. To weaken Scotland and prepare her for annexation Henry VIII gave every kind of encouragement to the heretical party.

For a long time both king and people, ably advised by the clergy under Cardinal Beaton, offered firm resistance. But

¹ See Guggenberger, II, § 521, or histories of Ireland, for more details.

after the death of James V and during the minority of his daughter Mary, who still lived in France, the influx of heretical ideas went on unchecked. The arch-promoter of the "reform" was *John Knox*, who had studied in Geneva under Calvin. Hence it is that Calvinism (Presbyterianism) became the most generally accepted form of Protestantism in Scotland.

In 1560 a rebellious parliament declared the old religion abolished. The usual aftermath followed — confiscation of ecclesiastical property and church ornaments, and the destruction of monasteries. But for years Mass continued to be said in the burnt and blackened ruins of the monasteries. Lack of priests caused the Catholic religion to die out in the realm as by starvation.

64. *Mary Stuart*, the heiress of the kingdom of Scotland, was a Catholic and had been educated in France, where she married King Francis II. A year after the early death of her husband, the girl-widow of nineteen years returned to Scotland (1561) to mount the throne of her fathers. Her position was very precarious. Those whom she found in actual power were fierce Protestants, and the persecution of the Catholics, inaugurated the year before, was in full swing. With difficulty the queen maintained her right to have Catholic services undisturbed in her own chapel. John Knox thundered away against everything Catholic, and powerful nobles instigated revolution after revolution against their lawful sovereign.

She married Lord Darnley, an ambitious nobleman, to whom



MARY STUART

she bore a child, the later King James I. Lord Darnley proved a bad husband. He was unkind and brutal, a drunkard and profligate, and fond of low company. During a period of estrangement between him and Mary, the mighty earl of Bothwell supported her with his political influence and his military power. After Darnley's murder Bothwell was accused of being the instigator of the deed, but was acquitted by his peers — his accomplices in the crime, it is said. A month later he obtained a "divorce" from his wife, to whom he was legally married, and induced or forced the queen to consent to a union with him. This affair gave plausibility to the charge that the queen had a share in her husband's murder. This matter is not sufficiently cleared up. However it may be, she abundantly atoned for her shortcomings by her heroic death and by the patience shown in long imprisonment.¹

The mysterious murder of Mary's husband helped to complicate matters for her. Her position grew desperate, and in 1568 she resorted to the fatal step of fleeing to England and imploring the protection of Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen of England rejoiced. Mary Stuart, being the legitimate descendant of Henry VII, had a much better claim to the English crown than the daughter of Anne Boleyn. She would in any case be the next after Elizabeth on the English throne; and the Protestants dreaded a Catholic succession. Hence the fugitive queen saw herself treated as a captive, and was for nineteen years dragged from prison to prison. Several risings in her

¹ The following facts will show in what kind of society the friendless queen found herself in her capital, Edinburgh. When her intention to marry Darnley became known, a number of Protestant noblemen, headed by her own half-brother, entered into a conspiracy for the purpose of dethroning the queen. Not long after the marriage was concluded, the same men combined with Darnley for the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary. Practically the same persons hatched the plot which resulted in the death of Darnley. They next helped Bothwell to get the queen into his power, and after this marriage conspired against both the queen and Bothwell. All this happened in the space of less than three years (1565-1568).

favor resulted only in aggravating her captivity. She was finally tried on the charge of having conspired for the murder of Elizabeth. The trial was a farce. Mary was denied the most elementary privileges which are granted to the worst criminal. No witness, no original document, was produced against her. But her condemnation had been resolved upon. Mary Queen of Scots was beheaded, 1587, in the hall of the castle of Fotheringhay.

The Earl of Kent, when announcing to her the hour of her execution, betrayed the real cause of her death. "Madam," he said, "your life would have been the death of our new religion, while your death — God grant it — will be its life."

65. The Church of Scotland. — While in the power of her enemies in Scotland, less than a year before her flight across the border, Mary Stuart had, under protest, resigned the crown in favor of her infant son, James, for whom a regency was appointed. There were, for years after, two parties at daggers drawn, the "King's men" and the "Queen's men." English influence helped to keep the country in a state of unrest.

After James had become of age, the new "Church" — the *Kirk*, as it is often styled in Scotland — fared ill at his hands. The innovators were chiefly Calvinists, who hated bishops and prelates (§ 39). But James retained, or rather reintroduced, the episcopal system after the English pattern, because he saw in it a prop of the throne. His "bishops" were consecrated in England (§ 55, note). However, true-blue Calvinism retained its hold upon the bulk of the Scotch Protestants. Not until 1688, that is, after the revolution against James II (§ 127), was "prelacy" definitely abolished in Scotland.

CHAPTER IV

FALSE AND TRUE REFORMATION

66. Character of Protestantism. — The period we treat of is called the Reformation. But the word "Reformation" is a misnomer and very misleading. It is based on the wrong supposition that the activity of Luther and the other innovators was a reform. Their work was in no sense a real reformation, but a revolution pure and simple. The so-called reformers did not insist upon the observance of the existing laws, but tried to subvert the authority which had given them. Under their hands as far as their power reached, the organization given by Christ to His Church disappeared.

The beautiful system of the sacraments with their consoling and elevating influence no longer existed. No rays of sacredness shone around matrimony; it was declared a "worldly thing," and its bonds were no longer indissoluble. We know how matrimony fared under Henry VIII. Luther went a step farther by declaring that even polygamy was not prohibited to Christians. The "faith in Christ" was an easy means to obtain forgiveness of sins; confession with contrition and purpose of amendment did not trouble people any more. And why should they worry about good works? "Faith" made all Christians equal in sanctity anyhow.

No wonder that the effects of such a "gospel" were deplorable. The economic consequences we have seen in the case of England (§ 47). They were the same everywhere, though perhaps not so glaring. Let the great German "reformers" tell us about the *moral* results of the innovation.

"As soon as our gospel began," writes Luther, "decency and modesty were done away with, and everybody wished to be per-

fectly free to do what he liked." "The people are like pigs, so to speak; dead and buried in constant drunkenness."¹ And one of his followers complains that "those who have received God's Word and the Gospel are lawless, insensible to instruction, hardened in their old sinful life, as is evident from the adultery, usury, avarice, lying, cheating, and manifold wickedness which prevails."²

67. The True Reformation. — Meanwhile the forces making for a true reformation were preparing to come to the front. About the middle of the sixteenth century popes of the highest character, zealous for the welfare of the Church, promoted every endeavor of bishops and other able men for the betterment of clergy and laity. The greatest act in this reform work, however, was the *Council of Trent*. With several interruptions it lasted from 1545 to 1563. It was composed of nearly three hundred bishops.

The Council clearly defined all the doctrines which had been the object of so many attacks. Had the defenders of the Church been able, from the beginning of the Wittenberg troubles, to

¹ Happily the specific teachings of Protestantism, which made such sad conditions inevitable, do not always receive the attention they naturally attracted in the beginning. Lutherans of to-day, for instance, do not know the real Luther or his real teachings. Luther himself, forgetful of his fundamental principles, wrote some popular books full of sound advice. After the first zeal for the new doctrines had spent itself and the heat of combat subsided, common sense returned to the old moral teachings of Christianity. Protestants who observe the commandments of God, Protestant families which never omit their common devotions, do not thereby show approval of the specific doctrines of Protestantism but bear testimony to the teachings and principles of the Catholic Church to which their ancestors belonged. May the Good Shepherd keep all such good persons under his Divine Protection.

² Let the student find out which of the elements of civilization given to the world by Christianity were destroyed by Protestantism (Betten, *Ancient and Medieval History*, § 442). The religious confusion of these troublous times was one of the several causes of the appalling increase of *witchcraft trials*. Thousands of innocent persons, chiefly old women, suffered horrible tortures and death at the stake in Catholic as well as Protestant districts. Guggenberger, II, §§ 291, 292; also §§ 288, 289.

appeal to such precise and authoritative statements of Christian truth, they would no doubt have been more successful. At the same time the Council enacted wise reform laws calculated to prevent the recurrence of the conditions set forth in §§ 18 ff. To secure a better education of the priests it prescribed the establishment of clerical seminaries.



A SESSION OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

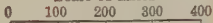
(From Widmann, Fischer, and Felten, *Illustrierte Weltgeschichte*.)

A principal factor for reformation outside the Council was the revival of discipline in the older *religious orders*, as far as it was needed, and the foundation of new ones. Among the latter are the Capuchin Fathers, who devoted themselves to the instruction of the faithful by means of missions; the Ursuline Nuns, founded for the education of girls; the Piarists for the education of boys. The most prominent of the new orders, however, was the Society of Jesus, which owes its origin to St. Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard.

Its purpose is work for the greater glory of God in whatever place the Holy Father may see fit to employ its members. Prac-

RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS
IN EUROPE
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tically, there are four purposes to which the order has chiefly devoted its energies; namely, missions among the faithful in the Christian countries, missions for the conversion of pagans, the direction of spiritual retreats, and the education of the young in higher schools. Within a short time the order grew into one of the greatest educational powers in the Catholic Church. Higher schools alone could supply the crying need for more laborers in the vineyard of the Lord.

One of the first members of the order, St. Francis Xavier, opened new fields for the Church by his missionary labors in India and Japan. He died while attempting the Christianization of China, in 1552. Thirty years later the Christians in Japan numbered about 200,000 and after another fifty



THE DEATH OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER

years, it is claimed, nearly two millions. But two fierce persecutions, in which thousands suffered unheard-of torments for their Faith, destroyed, as it seemed for the time being, the flourishing young Church.¹

St. Peter Canisius, the first German Jesuit, became the second apostle of his country. It was principally through his activity as preacher, writer, and founder of colleges, that the progress of Protestantism was checked, and that provinces already lost were regained for the Catholic religion.²

¹ See "The Catholic Church in Japan" in Casartelli's *Sketches in History*, especially the touching story of the "Discovery of the Christians."

² There is an instructive chapter, "The Catholic Reformation in Germany," in J. M. Stone's *Studies from Court and Cloister*.

CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS WARS

A number of long bloody wars lasted in Europe from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century. These are called the Religious Wars; but hardly any of them fully deserves the name. With the people indeed religious motives were not lacking. Certainly in no war before or after, with the exception of the crusades, was so much emphasis laid upon the idea of defending the one religion or the other. The result of these wars, too, was of great religious consequence. Yet the prime movers as a rule were not animated by religious zeal. They rather used religion as a pretext for their attacks and as a means of rallying followers around their standards.

THE REVOLUTION IN THE NETHERLANDS

68. The seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, now Belgium and Holland, were one of the richest Spanish possessions. They were liberally governed. Each province had its own diet or legislative assembly, and there was a kind of common parliament, *the States General*, which enjoyed extensive powers. A regent general represented the Spanish king. The connection with the empire was little more than in name.

The brisk commercial intercourse with foreign lands could not but result in an influx of *Lutheran ideas* from Germany and *Calvinistic errors* from France. Charles V had, with the consent of the States General, enacted some severe laws against religious innovations, and had introduced the Papal — not the Spanish — Inquisition. It is certain, too, that executions took place, though on the whole the religious laws do not seem to have been enforced very strictly. Religious difficulties alone could never have caused serious troubles.



69. Character of Philip II. — One of the causes of the revolution was the character of Philip II (§ 37). He was personally without reproach, devoted to the Catholic Church, frugal in his habits, fully conscious of his duties as ruler, and capable of an enormous amount of work. But his greatest weakness was distrust of others, which often induced him to thwart the efforts of his most faithful servants. He moreover lacked resoluteness; important measures were frequently postponed for years. Though not at all of a proud mind, he was cold and reserved in dealing with his subjects.

During his short stay in the Netherlands the natives could not but notice the great difference between him and Charles V, who had been born and bred among them, spoke their language, participated in their popular sports, and mingled with ease among all classes. In complete opposition to his father, Philip appointed Spanish nobles exclusively to posts in his wide empire and even to the highest offices in the Netherlands, as far as the choice rested with him. This, a very impolitic practice, lost him the support of a powerful class, the nobles of the Netherlands. But before the revolution broke out, the government was carried on in strict accordance with the privileges of cities, provinces, and nobles.

70. Ambition of William of Orange. — The principal reason for the disturbances which were to distract this fair country was the ambitious and treacherous course of William of Orange, called William the Silent.

Born a Lutheran, William was a Catholic at the court of Charles V, his greatest benefactor; acted as a Lutheran when dealing with Lutheran princes; and finally fought, or rather pretended to fight, for the victory of Calvinism. He deeply offended Philip II by marrying the daughter of Maurice, the Elector of Saxony, the man who had betrayed Charles V in so dastardly a manner (§ 36). On this occasion he pledged himself to Philip that his wife would live as a Catholic, and to Maurice that he himself would live as a Lutheran.

Philip II provoked William's undying hatred by making him governor of Holland, a province of the Netherlands, and of two more of the richest provinces, instead of giving him the coveted post of Regent General.

It was William who directed the first revolutionary move, and though at times absent from the country, he remained the soul of the revolting minority through his extraordinary capacity for intrigue. Under his guidance this party grew from year to year. Several attempts at composing the difficulties would have succeeded but for his secret machinations. His aim was full sovereignty over the entire Spanish Netherlands or at least a considerable part of them.

71. The Revolution. — On account of the increased spread of heresies, some of which were of a very pernicious character, Philip II caused the Regent General to renew the religious decrees of his father and urge their strict enforcement. By a public demonstration the dissatisfied party, a small minority of nobles, demanded their repeal, and the Regent General thought it best to suspend them for a time. At once Calvinistic preachers crossed the French border in large numbers, followed by Huguenot fugitives. Assisted by the mob of the cities they began a terrible devastation of churches and convents, and a destruction of statues and paintings and other works of Flemish art.

At this crisis Philip II made the blunder of sending the Duke of Alva, a stern soldier, as his representative to the Netherlands (1567). Alva inaugurated a reign of terror. There were numerous executions. Thousands of useful citizens fled to other countries, chiefly to England (§ 58). The Spanish soldiers, who were irregularly paid, committed outrages on friend and foe alike. Wherever the Calvinists gained the upper hand they retaliated with persecution of the Catholics. When Alva was finally recalled, the breach between Philip and his subjects, though much worse than at the beginning of hostilities, was not yet irreparable. But on this as on later occasions the intrigues of William the Silent prevented reconciliation.

In the further course of the struggle, Philip more than once left his regents without the necessary support or recalled them when they were on the point of victory or pacification. At times all the provinces united against the Spanish power. As yet, however, no province aimed or pretended to aim at independence from Spain. But the northern provinces, especially those under the governorship of William of Orange, more and more became the chief seat of the rebellion. There, too, Calvinism was propagated with all means of violence. Both sides performed deeds of heroic valor. Queen Elizabeth of England, the King of France, and other potentates repeatedly found it in their interest to support the rebels.

In 1578 Holland and the other northern provinces concluded the *Union of Utrecht*, which made Calvinism their official religion and expelled or executed the Catholics. Three years later these provinces abjured their allegiance to the King of Spain, and established themselves as *The United Netherlands*. William the Silent, however, who had been declared an outlaw by the King of Spain, fell the victim of a fanatical assassin, just when he thought he had reached his goal, the position of an independent sovereign. His son Maurice became his successor with the limited power of "Stadtholder" (president) of the republic.

This is the beginning of the Dutch republic, also styled *Holland* from the most influential member of the little confederation. For a long time, the position of Stadtholder passed from father to son in the family of William of Orange. In 1815 his descendants became hereditary kings of the Netherlands.

During the war the little republic had enriched itself by plundering the Spanish fleets and colonies, and it soon built up a large colonial empire in the East Indies.¹ Its extensive trade for a

¹ In 1582 Philip II had taken possession of Portugal and all its colonies, basing his claim upon close relationship with the kings whose line had died out. It was chiefly the former Portuguese colonies that the Dutch seized upon. In 1640 an almost bloodless revolution again separated the two countries and placed a native Portuguese family upon the throne.

while outstripped both English and Spanish commerce. It is greatly to its honor that even in the midst of its struggle for political liberty it created, in the university of Leyden, a center of intellectual life. Here existed an intense scientific and literary activity, which, however, was marred by bitter religious feuds between two rival wings of Calvinism. For some time the Dutch were the best agriculturists and florists of Europe.

The southern provinces remained faithful to Spain. In the course of time they became more generally known as *Belgium*. After many vicissitudes Belgium, since 1830, has formed an independent kingdom.

OTHER SPANISH AFFAIRS

72. The Battle of Lepanto. — After the expedition of Charles to Tunis (§ 35) the Turks had resumed their depredations upon the Mediterranean coasts. They burned villages far inland, and swept away thousands of Christians into slavery. While the Protestants of Germany, England, and other countries denounced the head of the Catholic Church as Anti-Christ, Pope St. Pius V brought about an alliance between himself, Spain, and the Republic of Venice against the common foes of Christendom. With a large fleet John of Austria, half-brother of Philip II, sailed out, and, October 7, 1571, almost annihilated the Turkish fleet at Lepanto at the entrance to the present Gulf of Corinth. Twelve thousand Christian rowers were freed from horrible slavery at the oars.

The battle of Lepanto was the greatest naval battle the world had seen for fifteen hundred years. In importance it can be compared only with the battles of Salamis, Châlons, Constantinople, and Tours. It destroyed forever Turkish supremacy on the Mediterranean.¹

73. The Spanish Armada. — The support given by Elizabeth to the revolting provinces in the Netherlands, depredations of

¹ See the brilliant description of this battle in E. K. Rawson's *Twenty Famous Naval Battles* or in Drane's *Knights of St. John*.

English freebooters upon Spanish shipping and Spanish colonies, and the execution of Mary Stuart finally moved Philip II, after much hesitation, to decide on a war with England. But Francis Drake, the ablest of the band of Elizabeth's licensed freebooters, ruined the first preparations by daringly sailing into the harbor of Cádiz and burning a large number of unprotected war-ships and vast stores of provisions.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

In 1588, however, Philip had fitted out an immense fleet, the "Invincible Armada," for an invasion of England. To the surprise of the world this gigantic effort came to naught—partly through terrible storms, partly because the Spanish army in the Netherlands failed to coöperate with it, partly and chiefly through the desperate attacks of the English craft, which, though much smaller in size, were bet-

ter manned and more dexterously handled. The scattered Spaniards, after their defeat in the Channel, returned around Scotland and Ireland, strewing the coasts of these countries with the wrecks of their ships.

With the defeat of the Armada began the decline of the Spanish naval power. The way was prepared for the English colonization of America.

74. The Expulsion of the Moriscos — Spain's Colonial Policy. — Numerous Moriscos — descendants of the Moors, who during the Middle Ages had invaded and settled in Spain and had been finally conquered by Ferdinand in 1492, lived in the South. They had remained Mohammedans at heart though

professing Christianity outwardly. Their close connection with Mohammedan powers in northern Africa made them, besides, a political danger. So Philip II finally resolved to force them to give up their national peculiarities, their dress, customs, and above all their language. This demand drove them into a revolution, in which they had reason to count upon the support of the sultan and that of France. In a fearful war they were overpowered and removed to other localities. Under Philip III they were finally expelled from Spain entirely.

The economic consequences for the country of the expulsion of the Moriscos were disastrous. It was impossible to replace this industrious though small part of the population which had brought agriculture and manufacture to a high degree of perfection. Even to-day the districts abandoned by them have not recovered their former flourishing condition.

An ill-advised colonial policy, however, had a great deal to do with the decline of Spain. Like all the countries of that time which possessed colonies, Spain aimed at extorting as much as possible from her rich provinces in America, and cut them off entirely from the rest of the world. Whatever the colonists desired they had to buy from the mother country. Hence all products of Spain, however inferior in quality, were sure to find a purchaser in the colonies. There was, therefore, no incentive to improve the methods of production. On the other hand, enterprising Spaniards were seized by the emigration fever and preferred, as they thought, "getting rich quick" in the colonies to extending the productive area in their native land. In general the rich colonies and the silver fleets which they sent year after year to fill the king's exchequer harmed much more than benefited the land. Mismanagement and the strictly autocratic government which resisted every check on its authority did the rest to keep Spain upon the downward path. In European politics this country never again played the part it did under Philip II.

This decline was caused not by the Catholic religion but by false economic theories, to which all the states of those times were more or less addicted. If the result of these theories was more disastrous for Spain than it was for other nations, England, for instance, we should remember that the colonies of Spain were much larger and also richer in useful and desirable products, and that in consequence their influence upon the mother country was bound to be more general and thorough-going.

At the same time, however, Spain never forgot that she was Catholic. The Christianization of the natives in her colonies was never lost sight of in her legislation. Her colonial laws, it is true, were frequently disobeyed by the higher and lower officials in the far-distant countries, and the natives were occasionally treated with cruelty. Yet, notwithstanding all this, there is now, to mention one striking example, a Catholic population of seven million native Filipinos as a result of her colonial policy. And even in the vast extent of the countries of South America with its tens of millions of natives, the pagan Indians are few compared with those Christianized.¹

RELIGIOUS WARS IN FRANCE

75. The Huguenot Wars in France. — In France the Protestants, chiefly Calvinists, were called *Huguenots*, a word of uncertain origin and meaning. At no time was their number larger than a small minority of the population. The Huguenots were, however, proportionately very numerous among the wealthy middle class and the higher nobility, including members of the royal family. This element saw in the new faith an opportunity for enriching themselves and a pretext for embar-

¹ On the Spanish colonial policy see Guggenberger, II, §§ 405-424. Do not fail to read § 423, which briefly treats of the *Indian Reductions*, a kind of Indian reservations, in which in the course of about a century and a half more than a million Indians were Christianized and civilized. Or see the article "Reductions of Paraguay" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

rassing the actual rulers. Thus began a series of eight bloody wars (1562–1598) in which fair France was frightfully devastated. For many of the participants these wars were truly religious wars, but most of the leaders were actuated by political motives.

One of the most talked of incidents in history, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Night, took place after the third of these wars. The king's mother, the unscrupulous Catherine de' Medici, who had been siding alternately with the Catholics and the Huguenots, noticed with dismay that Admiral Coligny, the chief leader of the latter, was rapidly dislodging her in the favor of her son, King Charles IX. She hired an assassin to kill the admiral. On the occasion of a solemn princely wedding, celebrated at Paris, he was fired upon (Aug. 22, 1572) but



CATHERINE DE' MEDICI

was merely wounded in the wrist. This roused the fury of the Huguenot chieftains to the highest pitch. They threatened that "Coligny's arm was to cost 40,000 other arms." Terrified to the utmost, the queen mother convinced the king that neither his nor her life was safe, and that only a sudden blow could avert the gravest danger from the royal family. Very reluctantly the king consented to a general massacre of the leading Huguenots. Thus, on the 24th of August, more than a thousand Huguenots fell in Paris, and later on a large number in the provinces. No religious motives had suggested this hastily planned and precipi-

tately carried out butchery. (For more details and a fuller explanation consult Guggenberger, II, §§ 323-329.)

76. Henry IV. — The eighth war was practically a contest for the succession to the French crown. Henry of Bourbon had the best claim.¹ But he was a Huguenot, and he saw that for this reason he could never hope to gain the adherence of Catholic France. His religious convictions were not very deep, though he cannot be said to have been a hypocrite. Once before he had already, under pressure, professed himself a Catholic. He now took pains to have himself instructed, and, in 1593, was received back into the Catholic Church. Soon he was generally recognized as *Henry IV*. With him the House of Bourbon took the throne of France, to which family all the French kings belonged until the revolution of 1830.

In 1598 Henry IV issued the *Edict of Nantes*, by which he granted to his former coreligionists liberty of conscience, a right of public worship in certain towns, and many political privileges. Though in his private life he was no credit to the Church, the French nation has reason to look upon him as one of its great kings.

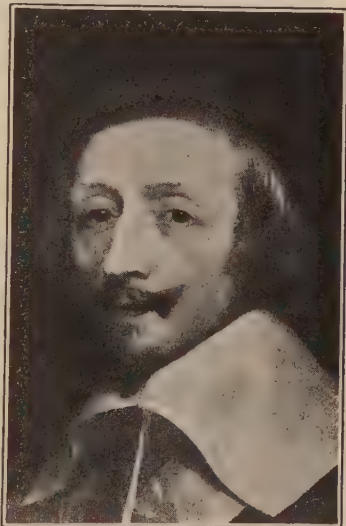
During the protracted civil wars many of the great feudal lords had regained much of their medieval ascendancy to the detriment of the royal power. France was on the point of breaking up into small states, like Germany, when this danger was averted by Henry IV's accession. The attempts of Philip II, too, to unite France with Spain were thus frustrated. With the assistance of his sagacious minister, the Duke of Sully, Henry IV set himself to restore prosperity to the desolated country. Roads were built, new trades were fostered. As far as he could

¹ The *House of Valois* had furnished the rulers of France until the accession of Henry IV. The House of Bourbon was another side line of the Capetians, descending from Robert, a son of St. Louis IX. Henry of Bourbon was already king of the little realms of Navarre and Béarn, which under him became parts of France. On the Huguenot Wars see Guggenberger, II, §§ 308-340.

bring it about, he used to say, the poorest peasant should have a fowl in the pot every Sunday.

His great plans of conquest, however, were not destined to be realized. He had concluded an alliance with England and with the Protestants of Holland and Germany for a war against the Hapsburg emperor. When just setting out to join his army, he was assassinated by a half-witted Catholic fanatic.

77. Richelieu.—Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, came to the throne as a boy of nine years. Anarchy again raised its head; but France was saved by the commanding genius of Cardinal Richelieu, who became the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu's statesmanship was guided solely by political motives. Within the kingdom he crushed the great nobles and essentially promoted the absolutism of the crown. In the Thirty Years' War he aided the German Protestants against the Catholic emperor, and so secured a chance to seize German territory (§§ 79, 81), while in France he curtailed by force of arms the privileges of the Huguenots, because they obstructed his plans of centralization.



CARDINAL RICHELIEU

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1618-1648

78. The Period before the War.—The Religious Peace of Augsburg (§ 36) did not settle the differences between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany. The successors of Charles V in the empire were unable to prevent the Protestant princes

from encroaching upon the possessions of the Catholics. The territories of two archbishops and fifteen bishops and the lands of hundreds of abbeys and similar institutions fell into their hands.

Meanwhile the Council of Trent came to a close (§ 67). But it was with difficulty that the Hapsburg emperors kept Protestantism from overrunning their own hereditary dominions. The number of defections from the Catholic religion in the Austrian dominions, above all in Bohemia, increased from year to year.

In 1608 a number of Protestant princes, chiefly Calvinists, concluded the aggressive "Evangelical Union" with Frederick, the Count Palatine, as their head and King Henry IV of France as protector. The following year most of the Catholics formed in opposition to it the "Catholic League" under Maximilian of Bavaria. The Catholic League of course sided with the emperor.

The war broke out between these two alliances, though in the course of the thirty years they gradually disappeared from the scene. The emperors, Ferdinand II (1619-1637) and Ferdinand III (1637-1657), were able men and, though sincerely Catholic, meant to respect the privileges which the Protestants had wrested from Charles V. Had there been no foreign interference, the war would most probably have ended in a complete victory of the Catholic party, and Protestantism would have practically been reduced to the extent it had in 1555.

79. The War Began in Bohemia. — The first period of the Thirty Years' War, the Bohemian War, may be said in some sense to have been exclusively German, though the Protestant party was liberally subsidized by France, England, and Holland. The other periods show by their very names which powers openly entered the field against the Catholic emperor. They are known as the Danish, Swedish, and Franco-Swedish Wars.

The pious and honest Tilly, "conqueror in twenty-two battles," and the resourceful, ingenious, but ambitious Wallenstein, who turned traitor to his sovereign, were the most prominent generals on the emperor's side. But unquestionably the

greatest military genius of the time was Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. Within two years he had nearly all Germany at his feet. He fell in battle when at the height of his power.

It should be noted that the armies which fought this war consisted largely of mercenaries, who did not necessarily belong to the nation they represented. He who paid best and permitted the most unlimited plundering had the largest number of soldiers. The struggle more and more degenerated into a ruthless destruction of life and property. The principle that "war must support itself" was openly recognized and acted upon by several of the most successful leaders. This was the cause of the terrible destructiveness of the war in Germany.

80. The calamities the war brought upon Germany were monstrous. Season by season, for a generation of human life, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land with fire and sword. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family, so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. Half of the population and two thirds of the movable property of Germany were swept away. In many large districts, the facts were worse than this average. The Duchy of Württemberg had fifty thousand people left out of five hundred thousand. Populous cities shriveled into hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs.

Even more destructive was the result upon industry and character. Whole trades, with their long-inherited skill, passed from the memory of men.¹ Land tilled for centuries became wilderness. Large parts of the population that survived the war came to manhood without schools or churches or law or orderly industry.

81. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648, which ended the war, was concluded after five years' deliberation at Münster, the

¹ An instance of this is the wonderful old German wood carving. A genuine old piece of German cabinetwork is easily placed before 1618, because the war simply wiped out the skill and the industry.

principal city of Westphalia. Almost all the states of Europe were represented.

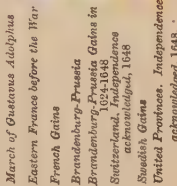
(1) It reaffirmed, with some restrictions, the *Religious Peace* of Augsburg, and constituted a Germany which was almost equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. The legal owners of church lands were now those who were in possession in 1624. Calvinists, who had not been included in the Augsburg agreement, were now to enjoy the same rights and privileges as the Lutherans and Catholics. On the whole, Catholicity was better off now than it had been before the war.

(2) *The United Netherlands and Switzerland* were recognized as independent states. *France* had her acquisition of Metz, Toul, and Verdun (§ 36) sanctioned, and, besides, acquired the greater part of Alsace. *Sweden*, whose power already extended around the entire northern and most of the eastern Baltic Sea, obtained possessions in northern Germany which controlled the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser rivers, — the mouths of the Rhine were in the power of Holland.

(3) *Within the empire* there were many territorial adjustments, mostly in favor of Protestant princes. In the districts thus acquired, however, the religious status was not to be altered. The empire itself, although retaining the *forms* of an elective monarchy, was changed into a mere confederacy under the presidency of the emperor. There were some three hundred states. The diet, described in § 4, soon came to remain in session perpetually. Questions of war and peace, of armaments and fortifications, were henceforward to be decided by this clumsy assembly.

It is indeed remarkable that even in this distracted condition Germany was still a factor to be counted with. She exerted some power in resisting the attacks of Louis XIV, and under Austrian leadership she succeeded, sixty years later, in winning back Hungary and Transylvania from Turkey. Of the former imperial power over Italy, however, there was not a trace left, except in certain districts which belonged directly to Austria.

SCALE OF MILES



PART II: ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER VI

REVIEW OF THE CHANGES BETWEEN 1450 AND 1600

82. Effects of the Renaissance and Reformation. — The century and a half from 1450 to 1600 were filled, in England, by the Wars of the Roses, or the long contest between the houses of Lancaster and York over the succession to the throne, and by the Tudor reigns. It was a period of tremendous change, intellectual, religious, political, and economic.

(1) The Renaissance produced a great revival of literary activity, which grew out of the consciousness of England's greatness, the boundless ambition of those stirring times, and the comfort and leisure afforded by the ever increasing prosperity. We associate this literary revival with the names of the immortal Shakespeare, of Spenser, Hooker, Francis Bacon, and a host of other writers.

(2) The religious revolution, begun by Henry VIII and completed by Elizabeth, separated England from the Catholic Church and destroyed the religious unity of the British Isles.

(3) On the ruins of the Catholic Church and the old feudal nobility, the Tudor kings built up an almost absolute monarchy. The losses in the long Wars of the Roses had fallen mainly on the nobles and had reduced them in numbers and wealth. Thus the kings found it easy to crush what was left of their independence. Out of the property confiscated from the Church Henry VIII and his successors endowed a new nobility which they kept in close dependence on the crown. As this new landed

gentry was strongly represented in parliament, the Tudors found that body very docile, all the more because the prosperous commercial class, which shared with the gentry control of the House of Commons, was loyal to the crown.

(4) Lastly, industry was revolutionized both in town and in country. The economic changes have been referred to before, but we view them here as a whole.

83. Condition of the Farming Class. — The golden age for the English peasants was the half century from 1450 to 1500, just after the disappearance of serfdom. The small farmer lived in rude abundance; and even the farm laborer had his cow, sheep, or geese on the common, his four-acre patch of garden about his cabin, and good wages for his labor on the landlord's fields. Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice under Henry VI, boasts of this prosperity, as compared with that of the French peasantry :

" They [the English peasants] drink no water, unless at times by way of penance. They are fed in great abundance with all kinds of flesh and fish. They are clothed in good woolens. . . . Every one, according to his rank, hath all things to make life easy and happy."

The great landlords had been relatively less prosperous. Since the rise of their old laborers out of villeinage they were " land-poor." They paid high wages, while, under the wasteful common-field system, crops were small.

84. The Inclosure Movement. — But by 1500 a change had begun which enriched the landlords and cruelly depressed the peasants. This change was the process of " inclosures " for sheep-raising. There was a steady demand for wool at good prices to supply the Flemish markets (§ 47), and enterprising landlords began to raise sheep instead of grain. Large flocks could be cared for by few hands, so that the high wages mattered less than before; and profits were so enticing that soon there was a mad rush into the new industry.

But sheep-raising called for large tracts of land. It was possible only for the large landholders; and even they were

obliged to hedge in their share of the common "fields." Therefore, as far as possible, they turned out small tenants whose holdings interfered with such "inclosures." They also inclosed woodlands and meadows, in disregard of ancient rights of common pasture.

Thomas More (§ 44) in his *Utopia* lamented these conditions bitterly:

"A careless and insatiable cormorant may compass about and inclose many thousand acres within one pale, and the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; or else by fraud, or violent oppression, or by wrongs and injuries, they are so worried that they be compelled to sell. . . . They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but the church, to be made a sheep-house."

Then he gives this piteous picture of the peasants who have been driven from their homes:—

"By one means or another, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart, poor wretched souls—men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with young babes. . . . All their household stuff . . . suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and then justly pardy, be hanged, or else go about begging? And yet then also they be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not,—whom no man will set to work though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."

Other statesmen bewailed the fact that sheep should take the place of the peasantry who had won Crécy and Poitiers, and who, Bacon said, were also "the backbone of the revenue." The government made many attempts to check inclosures, but law availed nothing. Nor did the peasants' risings and riots help. On the other hand, Henry VIII's transfer of monastery lands (at least one fifth of England) to greedy private landlords increased the inclosure movement tremendously. Inclosure went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising had found a natural level.

This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied, and the growth of the town population raised the price of grain. These towns, as we shall explain later (§ 86), became the basis of a new sort of prosperity for England, and the land changes described above created a wealthy landed gentry, which took a glittering part in society and politics.

But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages of England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of peasants, driven from their homes, became tramps; and laborers were forced to adopt a lower standard of living, because the cost of food and clothing, as always, rose much faster than wages.

More than even formerly, rural England had become a landlord's country. One reason why wages remained so low was that the "justices of peace," generally taken from the gentry and appointed by the crown, were given the power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hanged them in batches. In fifty years, in the "glorious" days of Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed. These conditions explain in part why so many Englishmen from the rural districts were eager to go to America in order to escape the hated landlord.

85. Meantime, England was becoming a manufacturing country. Ever since 1450 the English sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth gladly welcomed the skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by measures taken against the Huguenots.

Colonies of these foreign artisans were given special quarters in many an English city, with many favors, and were encouraged to set up their manufactures, of which England had previously known almost nothing. Raw wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home. These new manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen, and finally absorbed the classes driven from the land.

86. This manufacturing fostered commerce. By 1600 England was sending, not merely raw materials as formerly, but her finished products to distant markets. Merchants increased in wealth and numbers, so as to form a new class of society. In 1350 a census showed only 169 important merchants in England. In 1601 more than twenty times that number were engaged in the trade with Holland alone.

By purchasing land and by receiving "royal gifts" from the confiscated church property, the members of this class rose into the new gentry, and their capital and energy helped to restore prosperity to the land.

87. The rapid growth of manufactures brought with it a revolution in the position of the workers. The old *guild system* broke down (§ 10) and was replaced by the *domestic system* of manufacturing. The work was still carried on by hand, and mostly in the master's house, but the masters demanded liberty from the old guild control. This greater freedom permitted the more rapid introduction of improved methods, yet the gap between master and journeymen grew wider, because now they were no longer members of a common self-governing union.

88. The growth of the towns had much to do with the other great changes named in § 82. They gave victory to the Yorkists in the Wars of the Roses and then brought about the final overthrow of feudalism. They were the centers of the literary activity of the Renaissance, but also the strongholds of the religious revolution. And now, in the seventeenth century, they became the chief home of Puritanism, the strongest factor in the religious and political life of England during the period we are next to study.

89. Rise of Puritanism. — At Elizabeth's accession a number of Protestant clergymen, who had fled to Switzerland during the reign of Mary, returned to England, eager to spread the Calvinistic teachings and practices which they had embraced (§ 39). They held that the Church of England had retained too many features of the Catholic Church, and at once set to work to

“purify” it from “Romish idolatry.” Hence their name, *Puritans*.

But Elizabeth had no mind to follow their advice, and the government soon checked their agitation. For the time being the Church of England¹ seemed securely established, but the strife between Puritanism and the crown was to have tremendous consequences under Elizabeth’s successors.

Two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition, — an influential *Low-Church* element within the established Church and the fanatical *Separatists* outside it.

90. The Low-Church Puritans are the group with which we are chiefly concerned for the next fifty years. As a body they had no wish to separate themselves from the Anglican Church. They held that there should be one national church to which all Englishmen should be obliged to conform. But this national church, in their estimation, had so far retained too many practices that reminded the people of the old Catholic services. There was to be more preaching and less ceremony. The surplice, the use of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (with some of them) the official Book of Common Prayer were to be abolished.

Gradually they went farther. About 1570 bold attacks were launched against the constitution of the Anglican Church. Though ineffectual at the time, they were resumed with greater vigor after the death of Elizabeth. The very existence of bishops, it was declared, and their claim to be divinely instituted have no foundation in Scripture. Likewise, the royal supremacy in the government of the English church was said to be anti-Christian. But as to who should exercise supreme authority in that church there was considerable difference of opinion. One party would have given to parliament the last word in all religious matters, while others preferred the Scotch system

¹ The terms Church of England, Anglican Church, Established Church, and Episcopal Church designate the same body, the church set up by Henry VIII and Elizabeth.

which vested all authority in a synod or permanent committee of clergymen.

91. **The Separatists** (or "*Puritans of the Separation*") held that there should be no national church, but that each *local church*, or parish, should be wholly separate from the civil power and independent of other churches. They tolerated



THE PILGRIMS

A. S. Burbank

(From a painting by Weir.)

the most extreme opinions on religious questions, while at the same time they bore a deadly hatred against king, prelates, and Catholics. To the others they appeared as a lawless element. Elizabeth persecuted them, and her successor continued that policy. Some of these Separatist congregations fled to Holland. One of them, from Scrooby in northern England, after staying several years at Leyden, founded Plymouth in America (the "*Pilgrims*").

The Low-Church Puritans of the milder type had their strength in the parliament and in the city of London. Those who inclined towards Scotch Presbyterianism were numerous among the lower ranks of the Anglican clergy. The Separatists

recruited their followers chiefly among the poorer classes in eastern counties. Later, Oliver Cromwell became their acknowledged leader.

92. Political liberty had fallen low under the Tudors. True, no law could be made without consent of parliament, and that body controlled nearly all grants of money. But the monarch (or his ministers) first prepared nearly all measures that came before parliament. He could veto any act of parliament, and after a law had been made, sometimes nullified it by special proclamations. This last privilege was later made use of by the Stuart kings, but with disastrous consequences. Moreover, the king had so many ways of injuring a private man that it was extremely hazardous for any one persistently to oppose him.

Henry VIII and Elizabeth, however, had ruled despotically only because they preserved constitutional forms, and because they had a shrewd tact which taught them how far they might safely go. Moreover, towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, when foreign perils (Spanish or French aggression) were past, the tone of parliament began to rise again. Men spoke boldly of checks upon the royal power. Parliament and courts even extorted a promise from the aged queen to give up her practice of granting trade monopolies to her favorites. It was plain to keen observers that only the reverence for Elizabeth's age and the gratitude for her real or imaginary services to the realm held off an open clash between sovereign and parliament. Upon her death the clash began, to last eighty-five years. It cost the life of one king and the exile of another.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND UNDER THE FIRST TWO STUARTS

JAMES I

93. Elizabeth in 1603 was succeeded by James I (son of Mary Stuart), already King of Scotland since 1567 (see note to § 41). James was shrewd and quick of apprehension, but ungainly in appearance and slovenly in his habits. His natural indolence made him leave the details of government to his favorites, while he spent his time in the pleasures of the chase and the table. Like his predecessors, he entertained a very high idea of kingly power and armed himself against opponents with his doctrine of the *divine right of kings*. According to this theory the king, by the will of God, is the only source of all political power. Hence opposition to the royal will is sinful. "As it is atheism and blasphemy in creatures to dispute what God can do . . . so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what the king can do, or to say that the king cannot do this or that."¹

The doctrine of divine right was given loyal support by that humble handmaid of the state, the Established Church. As it was the creature of royal absolutism, it naturally turned to its makers for favor, and the king considered it the firmest prop of his authority. On the other side, the parliament in its opposition to the royal prerogatives and the Puritans in their hatred of episcopacy joined hands in defense of their common interests. Hence we find that in the civil strife that followed the death of

¹ It is God's will that there be in every state a government to whose lawful commands all owe obedience. In this sense every legitimate ruler governs by "divine right." But from that it does not follow that the ruler can do no wrong and that resistance to the government is *always* sinful.

Elizabeth and lasted for the next eighty-five years, the fortunes of the king and of the Established Church rise and fall together. Not until the end of that period does the Church join the camp of the enemies of the second James, the grandson of the first.



STATUE OF JAMES I

This amusing little figure is on the grounds of Dryburgh Abbey in Scotland.

94. Both Catholics and Puritans hailed the coming of James, but both were disappointed. The Catholics hoped for fairer treatment by the son of the unfortunate Queen of Scots, although he was a Protestant (§ 64). In the beginning, indeed, James seemed inclined not to enforce the Penal Laws (§§ 55, 56) too strictly. But the fanatical taunt of "popery" from the Puritans soon turned the weak and cowardly king into a persecutor. This embittered a few young and ardent spirits among the Catholics so much that they formed a plot to revenge themselves on their persecutors. They planned to blow up the parliament building on the day when the king would open

the session in presence of the Lords and the Commons (November 5, 1605). The plot was betrayed, and only served to make the lot of the Catholics harder, although there was not the slightest evidence that any one besides the conspirators knew of the criminal enterprise.

95. The Puritans on their part, knowing that James had been reared in the tenets of Scotch Calvinism, expected that he would

purge the Established Church from the remnants of "popish practices." But they, too, were soon disillusioned. James made no effort to conceal his dislike for the Presbyterian form of church government. He had forced bishops on the unwilling Scotch (§ 65), and he was not going to be deprived of these tools in England. "No bishops, no king," was his motto. He threatened that if the Puritans refused to conform he would "harry them out of the land, or even do worse."

96. Wrangling with Parliament. — James' relations with the House of Commons were marked by a series of quarrels. He seldom called parliaments, and only when he needed money. Whenever he did, there was a clash.

The regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices and the wider duties of the government called for more funds. Besides, James was wasteful where Elizabeth had been miserly. At first he tried to obtain more money by increasing the customs duties. Parliament objected. The monopolies of the Crown were another source of income, but the Commons maintained — and rightly — that they were only a means to enrich ministers and other courtiers, and, accordingly, they asserted their right to impeach ministers.

In 1621 James summoned a parliament to obtain subsidies for his son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate. In the Thirty Years' War (§ 78) Frederick was one of the leading men on the Protestant side. His cause was, therefore, popular in England, especially since Spain, England's old enemy, supported the Catholic party. But in spite of English assistance Frederick was defeated and expelled from the Palatinate. James then conceived the idea of restoring him to his dominions through Spanish influence. For this purpose he planned a marriage between his son Charles and a Spanish princess. The Commons, who cared very little for poor Frederick's personal losses but were eager for a war with Spain, expressed their dissatisfaction with these marriage plans. James told them bluntly not to discuss these "high mysteries of state," whereupon the Commons drew

up a protest insisting upon their right to discuss all matters of state and asserted their right of freedom of speech. James tore out this page of the records and dissolved parliament.

However, the project of the Spanish marriage failed, and the king opened negotiations for an alliance with Henrietta, sister of Louis XIII of France. In the marriage contract James and Charles secretly pledged their word to grant relief to their Catholic subjects, although previously Charles had declared on oath that the Catholic marriage should be of "no advantage" to the recusants at home. During these negotiations parliament was again summoned; the Commons granted supplies to be spent on the defense of the realm and on a war with Spain. A force was landed in Holland to serve against the Spanish troops on the Rhine, but the expedition was utterly mismanaged, and amid the general outcry of indignation James died, leaving to his son Charles a heritage of trouble.

CHARLES I

97. Charles I (1625-1649) was a more kingly personage than his father, but he was also more arbitrary and more self-willed. His personal morals were above reproach and his devotion to the Established Church was sincere. He thought it his solemn duty to preserve the royal rights as they were exercised by the Tudors and by his father, not realizing that political and economic conditions and the spirit of the nation had radically changed since that time. Hence it was that, even when he was compelled to yield, he did so with the intention of reasserting his rights as soon as altered circumstances would permit it. This made it impossible for him to acquiesce honestly in any agreement which limited his power.

98. When Charles met his first parliament he quarreled with it at once. The Commons did not vote enough money for the war with Spain and proposed to grant the tonnage and poundage (revenue from import and export duties) for one year. The previous custom had been to grant them for life. Moreover, the

favours shown to Catholics since his marriage with Henrietta aroused suspicion, and he had to put into force the Penal Laws in spite of the promise made to Louis XIII.

Charles met still stronger opposition in his second parliament. Sir John Eliot was its leader and became the first "Great Commoner" of England. The anger of parliament was directed in particular against the Duke of Buckingham, the leading minister and a special favorite of the king. The duke had sent a fleet to Cádiz to capture the Spanish treasure ships, but the expedition proved an utter failure. Later some English ships were lent to Richelieu to help crush the Huguenots (§ 77). The Puritans in parliament were so incensed at this war against their coreligionists in France that they demanded the impeachment of Buckingham. Then Charles promptly dismissed parliament.



KING CHARLES I

99. Charles needed money, however, all the more because he now entered upon a war with France. Parliament alone, of course, had the power to grant money. Richelieu was determined to deprive the Huguenots of their political privileges, and Charles felt bound to come to their aid. To raise the necessary money without parliament he fell back upon the *benevolences*, that is, free-will gifts, though often exacted by threats. These benevolences were now asked of *all* taxpayers through the county courts. But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for parliament.

Charles then tried a *forced loan*. This was really a tax levied by the usual tax collector, and only thinly disguised by

the promise to repay at some future time. The king's party used both force and persuasion. The Anglican clergy preached from the pulpits that to resist the king was sinful and deserved eternal damnation.

Poor freeholders who refused to pay were "pressed" into the navy, or a turbulent soldiery was quartered in their homes. Two hundred wealthy gentlemen were confined in prisons to subdue their obstinacy. Still, the forced loan raised little revenue; and with a fleet poorly fitted out Buckingham sailed against France. The expedition was another complete failure.

100. The Petition of Rights. — Sunk in debt and shame, Charles had to face his third parliament in 1628. The imprisoned gentlemen were released before the elections, and some seventy of them (all who ran) were elected to the new parliament, in spite of the king's efforts to prevent their choice. Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent infringements of English liberties and some way to provide security for the future. Finally they passed the *Petition of Rights*, a document that ranks with the Magna Carta in the history of English liberties. Charles, after vainly trying to evade it, had to give his assent in order to obtain money. It thus became the law of the land.

It provided :

- (1) That no one should be required to give any loan, gift, or tax to the government, unless it was granted by act of parliament ;
- (2) That no one should be imprisoned contrary to the law of the land, not even by the king's orders ;
- (3) That soldiers and marines should not be quartered in private homes ;
- (4) That towns and districts should not be punished by being put under martial law.

Royal power as assumed by the Tudors received its first restriction from the Petition of Rights. Charles then adjourned the parliament. Before it met again, Buckingham, the "grievance of grievances," had been assassinated.

101. Eliot's "Resolutions." — The next or fourth parliament under Charles met in a bad humor. Charles during the recess had managed to get money by collecting the tonnage and poundage, claiming that these were not included in the restrictions of the Petition of Rights. The Commons were, however, determined to get and keep all the purse strings in their hands. Instead of considering the king's plea for money they proceeded to punish the royal officers who had collected the customs. Then the Speaker stopped business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.¹ Instantly there was an uproar. Two of the members held the Speaker in his chair,² while the bulk of the others voted three resolutions proposed by Eliot. These resolutions denounced as traitors (1) any one who advised the levy of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, (2) any one who paid them, (3) any one who supported popery and Arminianism (§ 105). Charles at once dissolved parliament and sent Eliot and some others to the Tower. Eliot died there four years later.

102. "No Parliament." — There was no parliament for the next eleven years. Charles issued royal edicts in place of laws, and thus England was from 1629 to 1640 under the personal rule of the king. At first the people readily acquiesced in a situation which had obtained more than once since the days of the Tudors. Charles practiced rigid economy to avoid calling upon the Commons for supplies. He kept peace with the rest of Europe, but, as all foreign powers believed that Charles could not wage effective war, the prestige and authority of England sank to a very low level and was not revived till after the death of Charles.

103. Ship-money. — The income that the king received, however, was not at all sufficient. Hence he had to resort to

¹ The king could *adjourn* the parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it altogether, so that no new parliament could meet until he had called for new elections.

² If the Speaker left the chair, business was at an end.

various means of raising money, such as charges for conferring titles of nobility, monopolies, fines for the breach of the forest rights of the crown. Finally his lawyers devised a new tax, the "*ship-money*." In time of war it had long been the practice of English kings to demand ships and crews from the seaport counties, or to accept money instead when it seemed more convenient. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "ship-money tax" from all England in time of peace.

John Hampden, a wealthy merchant from Buckinghamshire, refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his land, and the case went into the courts. The judges, who had long ago become tools of the king, decided for Charles, as had been expected. The arguments of the lawyers on both sides attracted wide attention, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of absolutism with perfect frankness. It declared that there was no power to check the king's authority over his subjects, "for," said the Chief Justice, "no act of parliament makes any difference." The nature of the Stuart rule was now clear to all men.

104. Sir Thomas Wentworth (Earl of Strafford) and Archbishop Laud were the chief servants of the Crown during this period. Wentworth had been active in securing the Petition of Rights, but soon afterwards he passed over to the king's side, probably because he thought that the claims of the Commons would eventually destroy the very foundations of the English government. Wentworth was a man of uncommon ability and will power. He might have saved the Stuart monarchy, but Charles never gave him his entire confidence. He had been Lord Deputy in Ireland and as such had extorted large sums of money from the Irish parliament for real or apparent royal favors. His ability to fill the treasury induced Charles to call him to his council.

105. Archbishop Laud and the Religious Question. — A reaction against Calvinism had set in on the Continent in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The movement was led

by a Dutch parson named *Arminius*, and soon found its way into England, where Laud, then bishop of London, became its chief supporter. Under Charles I Arminianism was the religion of the court and, of course, the stanch defender of the divine right theory. But as the Arminians gradually drew away from Calvinism they more and more approached Catholic doctrine and practice. This aroused the fierce hostility of the Puritans. One of Eliot's resolutions was directly aimed at them (§ 101), and since the Puritans formed the majority in parliament, religion and politics became inixed up in inextricable confusion.

Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. This office gave him authority over the entire clergy. He at once set to work to reform according to Arminian standards. Resistance on the part of the Puritan clergy led to petty vexations and persecutions. The Puritans, on their part, retaliated by raising the cry of "popery" against Laud and — indirectly — against Charles. True, the Catholics, for quite a while, had been treated with unaccustomed leniency, but neither the king nor the archbishop had any thought of submitting to Rome.

Laud tried to force Arminianism on the Scots¹ a few years later. James I had established episcopacy, and the Scots only murmured (§ 65). But now their pent-up anger burst into flames. When the clergyman in St. Giles' Church at Edinburgh began to read the new English prayer-book, a stool was hurled at his head, and the service broke up in wild disorder. In a short time hundreds of men had signed their names to a "solemn oath and covenant" to preserve their form of religion. From the capital the movement spread like wildfire over lowland Scotland. Episcopacy was abolished; the Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border. Charles was defeated and had to promise a heavy sum to the invaders.

¹ Scotland had been joined to England when her King James had become king of England, but each country had its own parliament and church. The union was "personal," and consisted in the fact that the two countries had the same king. This remained the theory until 1707 (§ 135).

106. The Long Parliament. — Not knowing where to get the money, and acting upon the advice of Wentworth, Charles called the famous body known as the Long Parliament (November, 1640). The position of the new parliamentarians was unprecedented in English history. The Scots had invaded the country and claimed from the king the payment of £850 a day. In order to get the money Charles had to keep parliament in session and assent to its bills. The aim of the majority, led by Pym and Hampden, was to restore what they considered the true balance between king and Commons. To achieve this they thought it necessary to get rid of the chief agents of the king, Wentworth and Laud. Accordingly, both were impeached and condemned to death, though neither was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge. The king, frightened by the threats of mob violence, gave his assent to the execution of Wentworth, and the head of the minister fell on May 12, 1641. "Put not your trust in princes," was his only comment on the cowardice of his royal master. The trial and execution of Laud came a few years later.

The absolutism which had been founded by the Tudors was swept away in a series of acts by the victorious parliament. The Triennial Act ordered that parliament should be elected every three years. Another act provided that the existing parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent, a measure which made it independent of the king. Then the Commons abolished the Star Chamber and the High Commission, — two rather new courts which worked without juries and were, therefore, subservient to the king. Tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament were declared illegal, and the ship-money tax was discontinued. After these and other measures the parliament adjourned. So far the Commons had been united, but now the split began.

107. The Royalist Reaction. — In the absence of Charles, who had gone to Scotland to win over that country, a royalist reaction set in. There were many in the Commons who thought that the king had made every concession which could be reason-

ably demanded, and that to go further would mean revolution and lawlessness.

Moreover, with many Presbyterianism found little favor, and, when Pym and Hampden came forward with a proposal to abolish episcopacy "root and branch," a large party under Hyde and Falkland opposed further changes. An Irish rebellion and an attempt to arrest a party of Scotch Presbyterians, for both of which incidents the king was blamed, only helped to increase the existing tension.

108. The Grand Remonstrance was brought forward by Pym in the new parliament. This was a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in taking further measures against the king. In particular it proposed (1) that a synod of the clergy should be held to "reform" the church along Puritan lines, (2) that the king's choice of ministers should be subject to the approval of parliament. After an all-day and almost all-night debate, marked by bitter speeches on both sides, the Remonstrance was adopted by the narrow majority of eleven votes amid scenes of wild confusion.

109. The Rupture between King and Parliament. — Charles now seemed able to control affairs, backed as he was by a large party. But he threw away his advantage by ordering the impeachment of Pym, Hampden, and three others. They were accused of treason — of having invited the Scots to invade England.

The charge was probably true, but the Commons paid no attention to it, and the king resolved on a bold stroke. He entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize the "five members." But news of his coming had preceded him, and the five members had withdrawn. Charles did not know this and ordered the Speaker to point them out. The Speaker protested that "he had no eyes to see, no tongue to speak" but as the House should direct him. "Well, well!" said the king; "my eyes are as good as another's"; and standing in the Speaker's place he looked around

the room. "I see the birds are flown," he added in a different tone — and walked out, baffled and humiliated, and followed by angry shouts of "Privilege! Privilege!"¹

The disgraceful failure of this attempt consolidated the opposition. London began to arm and sent trainbands to guard parliament, which now demanded that the king give it control of the militia and of the education of the royal princes. Charles withdrew to the loyal North where, on August 22, 1642, he unfurled the royal standard, thus ending the battle of words and beginning the clash of arms.

¹ Referring to the privilege of members of parliament to be free from arrest, except on the order of the House itself.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLUTION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

THE CIVIL WAR (1642-1649)

110. Division of the Nation. — The king's strength lay in the North and West and that of the parliament in the south-eastern counties, but there was no sharp dividing line. The revolution against royal authority was a true "civil war," dividing families and old friends. On the king's side were the Cavaliers, the nobility and country squires, and the adherents of the Anglican Church who feared the narrow Presbyterianism which parliament tried to establish. The Catholics loyally supported the king.

The trading and manufacturing classes and the yeomanry, or farmers, especially in the eastern counties, were for parliament, and London led the great towns in upholding the parliamentary cause. The navy, too, gave its assistance to the opponents of the king. The name *Cavaliers* came from the large number of nobles fighting in the king's ranks. The parliamentarians were called *Roundheads*, the term being applied to them because many of them cropped their hair close to the head simply for the reason that the Cavaliers affected long flowing locks.

111. The military advantage was at first with Charles. The untrained peasants and townsmen were no match for the habitual bravery and daring of the English gentlemen. The king's object was to take the capital. After a battle at *Edgehill* the way to London was open to him, but instead he retired to Oxford and thus lost his best chance to decide the war quickly.

Parliament had meanwhile been negotiating with the Scots. They reached an agreement whereby the Scotch army was to

come to the assistance of parliament, and the latter pledged itself to establish a Presbyterian system of church government as nearly akin to the Scotch Kirk as possible. Charles, on the other hand, hoped for assistance from the Irish insurgents (§ 116), but his scheme failed completely.

112. Oliver Cromwell, a skilled general, had now become leader of the army of parliament. Cromwell, a native of the



OLIVER CROMWELL

eastern counties, had raised a body of cavalry known as the *Ironsides*. These he trained and drilled and commanded so efficiently that they soon surpassed any other body of fighters, Cavalier as well as Roundhead. They were chiefly recruited from the Separatists (§ 91), and Cromwell knew how to inspire them with a fanatical zeal and a stern devotion to their cause which effectively matched the chivalry and loyalty of the Cavaliers. In the battle of

Marston Moor they showed the results of their training and inflicted a crushing defeat on the royalists. Henceforth the North was lost to the king.

But Cromwell did not rest on his laurels. He realized that the final victory would be won by a standing army and not by contingents of raw recruits that melted away and went to their homes after every campaign. Thoroughly disgusted with the half-hearted campaigns of some of the parliamentary generals, he urged two measures upon parliament, the Self-denying Ordinance and the remodeling of the army.

Both these measures were passed. By the first a number of inefficient generals had to resign, although they were also mem-

bers of parliament. The second measure created a permanent army, the *New Model*, with Cromwell in command. The troops, many of whom were veterans, received regular pay and were carefully trained. Soon afterward Cromwell's action was justified by the brilliant victory at *Naseby*, which virtually ended the war.

113. Dissensions. — The revolution had driven many loyal members of the Established Church in parliament to join the king. This left the Puritans in control. They were further strengthened by the support of the Scots (§ 111), to whom they had promised to make the English Church Presbyterian. To redeem this promise parliament now began to compel all men to accept the Presbyterian system. On this point, however, a quarrel broke out between the parliament and the army.

A year after the defeat at *Naseby*, Charles went secretly to the North and surrendered to the Scots. He hoped to take advantage of the division among his enemies and to use the Scots against the new army of parliament. But negotiations failed because the king absolutely refused to abandon the episcopal system, and shortly afterward the Scots handed him over to a commission representing the English parliament. From then on he was a prisoner.

114. A serious weakness in parliament now showed itself. The army, consisting mostly of Separatists or Independents, was as much opposed to the religious supremacy of parliament as it had been to the religious supremacy of the king. When the parliament tried to interfere with the army and disband part of it, Cromwell's soldiers organized a sort of independent government by appointing a Council of Officers with Cromwell at the head.

Royalist and Presbyterian risings were soon stamped out, and the army got possession of the king's person. Then, under orders from the Council of Officers, Colonel Pride carried out what is known as *Pride's Purge*, that is, he entered the House of Commons with an armed force and expelled 143 Presbyterian

members. The remaining members (rarely more than sixty were present) were subsequently nicknamed the *Rump*, and as such continued the Long Parliament. Almost at once it voted the appointment of a High Court of Justice, to bring the captive king to trial. As this appointment was rejected by the Lords, the Commons voted that "legislative power resided solely with the Commons."

At his trial, Charles refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the court and took the ground that not he but the parliament had broken the fundamental laws of the kingdom. But his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. The unhappy monarch redeemed the errors of his life by the noble firmness with which he met his fate. On January 30, 1649, he was beheaded in front of the royal palace at Whitehall, London, amid groans of pity and horror from the hitherto silent multitude.

ENGLAND UNDER CROMWELL

115. The Commonwealth (1648-1654). — The execution of Charles I was really the work of the army because it controlled parliament. Only a minority of the High Court had signed the death warrant (the others absenting themselves), and this High Court was appointed by the Rump, the insignificant remnant of the Long Parliament. The real power had passed from the representatives of the nation into the hands of a few determined and unscrupulous men. Thus the attempt to restore the English constitution, as it had existed before the Tudors, had lamentably failed. England, instead of being governed by king, Lords, and Commons, was now ruled by the sword. But this condition of things was not destined to last. The army had proved itself powerful enough to destroy, but its attempt to govern against the will of the great majority of the nation was foredoomed to failure.

The council of the army, shortly before the execution of Charles, proclaimed the so-called *Agreement of the People*. This was an outline of a republican constitution, the first and only

written constitution England ever had. There was to be a parliament of one house, and the executive power vested in a council appointed by parliament. The agreement recommended a public profession of Christianity "reformed to the greatest purity in doctrine, worship, and discipline," but those



WHITEHALL PALACE
(From an old engraving.)

who differed from it would not incur penalties. "Popery and prelacy" were, however, excluded from this toleration.

But for the time being it was impossible to carry out this scheme. Troubles in Ireland claimed the attention of the new government. To understand them we have to survey events in Ireland during the last reign.

116. Ireland under Charles I.—We have studied the sad story of Ireland under Henry VIII, Elizabeth, and James I (§ 62). The various plantations under the Tudors and especially the *Ulster Plantation* under James showed the Irish what was in store for them if they meekly submitted to English domination. True, James and Charles for a time mitigated the harsh

measures of oppression. But during the administration of Wentworth (§ 104) confiscation of Irish soil and expulsion of Irish landowners were resumed on a large scale. Moreover, English officials in the island and the Puritans in parliament continually clamored for more confiscation and for the total suppression of the Catholic religion.

In Ulster, where the Catholics had suffered more grievously than elsewhere, an insurrection broke out in 1641. The English parliament at once voted the confiscation of two thirds of all Irish estates and the complete suppression of Catholic worship. Upon that the rest of Ireland threw all hesitation to the wind, joined their Ulster brothers, and under their heroic leader *Owen Roe O' Neill*, began the war for faith and fatherland.

King Charles entered upon his struggle with the parliament at the same time that the great Irish rebellion broke out. As parliament had always been the chief enemy of Ireland, the Irish threw in their lot with that of the king. Charles was anxious to gain the support of the patriots in the island in order to offset the alliance of the parliamentarians with the Scots. He entered into negotiations with the Irish leaders and secretly promised redress of some of their grievances. But he lacked the courage to stand by his friends openly for fear of losing the support of his Protestant followers.

The Irish patriots won a number of brilliant victories over the parliamentary armies at the start of the rebellion, but soon dissensions brought disaster to their ranks. Their evil genius was *Ormond*, a Protestant Irish gentleman, whom the king had named his representative in the island. By endeavoring to procure political advantages exclusively for his friends and relatives, he sowed discord among the leaders, and with that discord defeat overtook their brave soldiers. By this time the king's cause in England began to look hopeless. Now he regretted his half-hearted compliance with Irish demands. But it was too late. A new treaty between Charles and his Irish

supporters had just been concluded, when the news of the execution of the king shattered the hopes of Ireland. Parliament now sent the formidable Cromwell to "pacify" the island. It was to be the peace of the grave.

117. Cromwell in Ireland. — Cromwell landed in Dublin in 1649, with a well-supplied army of his veterans. He first laid siege to *Drogheda* in the north, stormed the town, and put the garrison to the sword, though quarter had been promised. Nor were defenseless women and children spared. This bloody deed struck terror into many hearts, and a number of towns at once surrendered. At *Wexford* and other fortified places the terrible scenes of *Drogheda* were reenacted. After Cromwell's recall others finished the conquest with equal barbarism. Plagues and famine added to the misery of the unhappy island. Out of a million and a half 600,000 are said to have perished.

Later the parliament ordered the inhabitants of Ulster, Leinster, and Munster to leave their homes and move across the Shannon into Connaught, where the land had been laid waste. The evacuated land was given to Cromwell's veterans and other English Protestant settlers. Many of the unfortunate victims died of starvation, others were sold as slaves to the West Indies, while large numbers went into exile or enlisted in the armies of France and Spain. The barbarism of Cromwell and his successors left behind it a legacy of bitterness which has never been forgotten.

118. End of the Civil War. — Cromwell had been recalled from Ireland because of the threatening attitude of the Scots. They were angry at the overthrow of Presbyterianism as the sole religion of England, and bitterly resented the execution of Charles, who was also their sovereign. The son of the late king was proclaimed ruler of Scotland as Charles II, and upon his landing in Scotland he accepted the Presbyterian system. At the head of a Scotch army he invaded England to recover the throne of his father. But Cromwell completely routed the royalists at *Worcester*, the last battle of the civil war. The

young prince escaped in disguise and after many romantic adventures landed safely on the Continent.

119. War with Holland. — In 1652 a naval war with Holland broke out. The famous *Navigation Act*, which had been proclaimed by parliament, was the outcome of trade rivalry between the two countries, for the young Dutch republic had built up a considerable carrying trade. According to this act foreign goods could be brought to England only in English ships or in ships of the country that produced the goods. After a series of naval engagements the Dutch had to submit to the restriction on their commerce. A trade war with Spain was less successful and drove Cromwell into an alliance with France.

120. The Protectorate, 1654–1660. — The new constitution, the Agreement of the People (§ 115), provided that the Rump should be dissolved in April, 1649. The war with Ireland and Scotland prevented this, but after the battle of Worcester Cromwell demanded that this clause should be carried out, and a new parliament elected. The Rump realized that the elections would certainly return a hostile majority and proposed that only those seats which had become vacant by Pride's Purge (§ 114) and other expulsions should be filled up. The present members were to stay in office permanently and form a committee with power to exclude any of the new members whose loyalty to the existing government was suspected. This attempt roused fierce resentment in the army, and Cromwell resolved to take radical measures. He appeared in the House with a body of musketeers, ordered the soldiers to eject the Speaker from the chair, and drove the members out of the hall. Thus ended the Long Parliament after an existence of twelve years (April 20, 1653).

A convention was summoned to give England a new constitution, but it consisted largely of unpractical fanatics, and accomplished nothing. One morning a minority, taking advantage of the absence of their opponents, resigned all power into the hands of Cromwell. He in turn announced that he would

rule in accordance with the "Instrument of Government," a new scheme approved by the army which virtually united all power in one office, that of *Lord Protector*. That office was of course reserved to Cromwell. He now became practically a dictator, being more nearly independent of the will of the nation than Charles ever had been.

Several experiments with parliaments were made, but these parliaments, though "purified" by various means, would not work in harmony with the Protector. The real difficulty was that neither side dared to appeal to the nation, because the majority of the nation was opposed to the republic and its schemes. The Independents, who alone were represented in parliaments of that period, formed only a small section of the nation. Cromwell would have wished to rule with the approval of the people if the people had accepted his views. As it was, the power which he wielded was won by the sword and could be maintained only by the sword.

Fortunately for Cromwell, death released him in 1658 from a position which became every day more difficult. He was undoubtedly a man of extraordinary gifts, but a peculiar combination of pharisaical righteousness with unbounded selfishness makes him one of the most repulsive characters in English history. Richard Cromwell succeeded his father as Lord Protector, but resigned after eight months. Anarchy reigned for a while. Then the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II (1660).

CHAPTER IX

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION

ENGLAND UNDER THE LAST TWO STUART KINGS

121. A coalition of royalists and Presbyterians welcomed back Charles II, whom every one preferred to government by soldiers. Before his arrival he sent a declaration to parliament promising extensive pardon for the past, assent to any acts of parliament touching upon the question of confiscated estates of royalists, and toleration to all religions which would not disturb the public peace. The members welcomed this declaration and passed several acts on these points. But it proved impossible to solve the religious question to the satisfaction of all parties, and the king dissolved his first parliament.

122. The Character of Charles II. — The new king was indolent and extravagant. He and his court indulged in a continuous round of pleasures and the country largely followed the example set by the higher circles. There is hardly another period in English history when the moral laws were so openly flouted in life as well as in literature. It was as if men wished to indemnify themselves for the restraint put upon them by the somber Puritan régime. In politics Charles II was just as desirous as his father to be independent of parliament. But, unlike Charles I, he took care not to arouse the nation against himself. As he put it, he had no wish “to go on his travels again.”

123. Domestic Policy. — Although Charles' first parliament was a moderate body, his second one was made up almost entirely of Cavaliers and ultra-royalists. The king knew that he could never get another so much to his mind; so he shrewdly kept it during most of his reign — till 1679. This Restora-

tion parliament, therefore, was even longer than the Long Parliament.

In religion this parliament supported the Established Church without compromise. Previous attempts to bring about some understanding with the Presbyterians were at once given up. A number of acts struck severe blows at the Puritans and all the other "Dissenters," as all Protestant bodies outside the Established Church were called. They are of great importance in understanding future developments in English history. The *Corporation Act* obliged every officeholder in an incorporated town to receive communion in the Established Church. The *Act of Uniformity* obliged every clergyman and every school-master to declare his assent to all that was contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Any minister who was not ordained by a bishop of the Church of England had to receive ordination within three months. Two thousand ministers who had accepted office during the Puritan régime were ejected from their holdings.

Charles II was not in sympathy with these harsh proceedings. He would have preferred to extend toleration and make it wide enough to include even Catholics, for in spite of his dissolute habits he was secretly inclined towards Catholicism. The Catholics had supported his father, and Catholic princes had befriended him during his exile. He therefore asked parliament for power to dispense with the penalties of the Act of Uniformity. But that request aroused the suspicions of the members who divined the king's intention, and they passed the *Conventicle Act* which forbade religious meetings in private houses (1664).

As the king was tending more and more to Catholicism, he favored toleration for both Catholics and Dissenters. In 1668 his brother *James, Duke of York*, was converted to the Catholic Church, and Charles himself entertained similar thoughts. In fact, in a secret treaty with Louis XIV of France (1670) he agreed to declare himself a Catholic "when it was safe to do so." In order to prepare the way he issued the *Declaration*

of *Indulgence*, suspending all penal laws regarding Catholics and Dissenters.

Parliament forced him to withdraw the declaration and followed up its victory by passing the *Test Act*. This measure was aimed directly at the Catholics. It ordered that every officeholder must declare on oath his disbelief in the Transubstantiation, that is, in the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Catholics, of course, could never take such an oath, but the Dissenters were perfectly willing to do so.

The anti-Catholic bias received a new impetus through the lies of a shameless impostor, named *Titus Oates*. He professed to know of a Catholic plot to overthrow the English government and institute a general massacre of the Protestants. This "popish plot" was a vile fabrication, as is now generally admitted, but at that time it cost the lives of a large number of innocent victims.

The foreign policy of the king was another source of the ever increasing fanaticism of the nation. Louis XIV of France roused the indignation of the English by his constant aggressions on the Continent. They identified, though without reason, the Catholic Church and French interests. And they knew that among the allies of the French monarch none was more faithful than their own king.

124. Foreign Policy. — Two reasons accounted for Charles' constant support of France. The first was gratitude for the protection Louis XIV had given him when an exile. The second was the rich subsidies granted to him by Louis, which enabled him to maintain his extravagant court without recourse to parliament. This alliance entangled Charles in several continental wars, of which we shall have to speak later (§ 146 ff.).

The old war with Holland, begun under Cromwell (§ 119), was renewed under Charles II, who was earnestly desirous of increasing English commerce and English colonial possessions. The two nations were nearly evenly matched at sea, but in 1664 the English seized some of the Dutch West Indian islands and also

their colony on Manhattan Island, which was renamed *New York* in honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York. Three years later a treaty was signed by England and Holland which confirmed these conquests.

125. For the first time real political parties appeared toward the close of Charles' reign. Charles had no legitimate son, and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic and suspected of planning the restoration of Catholicism in England. The more radical members of parliament therefore introduced a bill to exclude James from the throne. The royal party presented counter-petitions expressing their abhorrence of a change in the succession. The royalists called the other petitioners *Whigs* (whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the fanatical Scotch Calvinists with their sour faces. The Whigs called their opponents *Tories* (bog-trotters), a contemptuous term applied to the Irish supporters of the royalist cause in the Civil War.

Although the bill failed, the rough division into parties remained. It was a long time before there was any regular organization or precise platform, but in general the Whigs believed in the supremacy of parliament, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while the Tories sustained the royal authority and wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the parliament.

126. *James II (1685-1688).* — Charles II died in 1685, having on his deathbed the assistance of a Catholic priest. His brother, who succeeded him, although superior to Charles in courage and energy, was decidedly his inferior in prudence and statesmanship. He lacked insight into character and was unable to gauge the trend of public opinion. It was truly said that whereas Charles could see things if he would, James would see things if he could. Being a Catholic, he tried above all to secure to his fellow Catholics religious liberty and complete equality with their Protestant countrymen.

In this attempt James proceeded with undue haste. At first he tried to obtain from parliament the repeal of the Test Act,

but a small majority voted against him. Instead of patiently waiting for a more favorable opportunity, he at once invoked the royal dispensing power, that is, he claimed the right to exempt individual Catholics from the penalties of the law. An obsequious court of judges declared that the king really possessed such power, and the latter at once proceeded to appoint several Catholics to high offices. This only heightened the general suspicion of James' intentions. At the same time Louis XIV, the old ally of the Stuarts, had taken very severe measures against the Huguenots in France (§ 147), and the arrival of fugitives from that country aroused universal indignation. Then came the climax. James issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*, granting almost complete religious liberty to Catholics and Dissenters. Moreover, he forced the Anglican bishops to have the declaration read in their churches. Several refused and were thrown into prison.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688

127. The birth of a son to James brought on the crisis while the case of the bishops was being tried. This son was born to James by his second wife, the Catholic princess Mary of Modena. Until now the hopes of the Protestant leaders had centered on the princess *Mary*, a daughter of James by his first wife. She was a Protestant and had married William III, the stadtholder of Holland and a descendant of William the Silent (§ 70).

The enemies of James spread the rumor that the child was really not the son of the king but had been smuggled into the palace to deprive Mary of her right of succession. A number of influential leaders secretly invited William of Orange. He landed with a small force. James found himself deserted by all, even by those whom he thought most loyal. He was made prisoner, but soon afterward was allowed to escape to France (1688).

The story of the revolution is not a noble one. Selfishness, treachery, and deceit marked every step. The term *glorious*,

which English historians generally have applied to it, must be taken to refer to results rather than to methods.

The throne was declared vacant by a convention parliament. It was offered to *William and Mary jointly*, that is, if either survived the other, he or she was to be ruler of England. Parliament then drew up a *Bill of Rights* which laid down certain fundamental principles. It was accepted by William and Mary, whereupon they were proclaimed king and queen. The Bill of Rights (1689) contained the following points:

(1) It is illegal to suspend, or dispense with, the execution of laws by royal authority, "as it has been assumed and exercised lately," or to erect courts and levy money without consent of parliament.

(2) No army may be maintained without consent of parliament; parliamentary elections ought to be free; parliament should be summoned frequently for the redress of grievances.

(3) On the death of William and Mary the crown was to go to their children, or in default of issue, to Mary's sister, Anne, and her children; if these failed, it was to devolve upon any children of William, should he survive Mary and marry a second time. Any person who was a Catholic, or married to a Catholic, should be incapable of wearing the English crown.

A few years later (1701) an *Act of Settlement* declared the granddaughter of James I, *Sophia of Hannover*, and her children heirs to the crown. In virtue of this law it passed in 1714 to George I and to each English sovereign since.¹

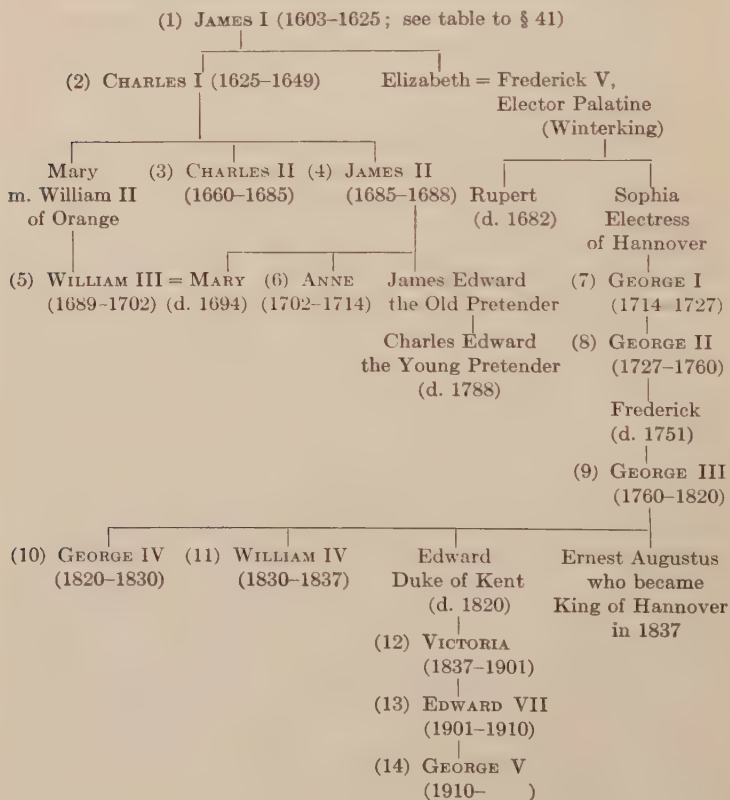
To understand the results of the revolution at the close of the seventeenth century, we must carry the political story in part into the eighteenth.

128. Beginning of the "Second Hundred Years' War." — William III was a great-grandson of William the Silent, under whom Holland had won its independence from Spain (§ 70). He ranks among England's most gifted kings. But being a foreigner, he was unpopular; and his reign (1689-1702) was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis

¹ The table on the following page shows the relationship of the Hanoverians to the Stuarts.

XIV of France. While only stadtholder of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis' schemes; and now the French king undertook to restore James II to the English throne.

This formed the beginning of a series of wars between France and England. With intervals of peace, the struggle lasted from 1689 to 1815, the downfall of Napoleon. The story will be told in future chapters. Now it is enough to note that the long conflict turned the government's attention away from reform and



progress at home. During the next century and a quarter there were great changes in England, especially in farming and manufactures, which will be studied in a later chapter, but they were changes made by the people. The government had nothing to do with them.

129. The Act of Toleration of 1689 was a notable part of the Glorious Revolution. The Dissenters had united with the Anglicans to bring about the overthrow of the Catholic James II; and William, who as a Dutch Calvinist had no special sympathies for the English State Church, insisted that parliament should grant the Dissenters freedom of worship. This was done.



WILLIAM III OF ENGLAND

The law, however, did not apply to Catholics. They remained excluded under severe penalties from all right to worship in their own way, and from the right to hold office or attend the universities. The two latter prohibitions applied also to the Dissenters. Still, for a country like England to permit by law the public exercise of more than one form of religion was a great step forward.

130. Progress toward greater democracy was also brought about by the Glorious Revolution.

(1) The Tudor and Stuart kings had often interfered autocratically with the independence of the courts. Now judges were made removable only by parliament, not by the king.

(2) A *Triennial Bill* ordered that a new parliament should be elected at least once in three years. This put an end to such abuses as the long life of the Cavalier parliament (§ 123). In 1716 the term was changed to seven years, which has remained

in effect ever since. A parliament may dissolve itself sooner than this, but it cannot last longer.

(3) Henceforth parliament passed revenue bills (furnishing money for government expenses) for only a year at a time. This simple device indirectly put an end to the old way in which kings abused their power of dissolving parliament. The personal income of the king (civil list) was still granted for life. This secured the Commons a strong hold on the crown and the ministry, and rendered necessary the annual summons of parliament. In like fashion, the *Mutiny Act*, by which the army was legalized and placed under the jurisdiction of courts-martial, was henceforth passed only for short periods, thus providing another means of parliamentary control over the administration. Without the frequent passing of the Mutiny Act the army would legally cease to exist.

(4) The great problem of parliamentary government was to control the "king's ministers" and to make them really ministers of parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers; but such an action could be secured only by a serious struggle and against notorious offenders. What was wanted was a way of easily and regularly securing ministers acceptable to parliament. The story of this change — a whole peaceful revolution — deserves a section to itself.

131. Cabinet responsibility to parliament was secured gradually through the next century and a half; but the first important steps were taken in the reign of William. At first William tried to get support from both parties, the Whigs and the Tories, by keeping the leaders of both among his ministers. But parliament was jealous and suspicious of his measures, especially his foreign policy. Sometimes, too, there were dangerous deadlocks between king and parliament at critical times.

Then a shrewd political schemer (Sunderland) suggested to the king that he should choose all his advisers and assistants from the Whigs, who had the majority in the House of Commons. Such ministers would have the confidence of the Commons;

and that body would support the proposals of the ministers instead of blocking them. William accepted this suggestion. A little later, when the Tories for a time secured a majority, he carried out the principle by filling his cabinet with leading Tories. This was the beginning of ministerial government, or cabinet government, in which the leaders of the government, the cabinet, represent and are controlled by the dominant party in the Commons.

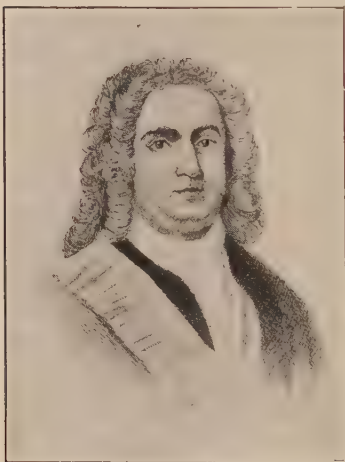
132. William, however, was a strong ruler. He was not a tyrant, but he believed in a king's authority, and he succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers — the “king's ministers” — in line with his policy. He died in 1702. As Mary had preceded him in death the crown passed to her younger sister, *Anne*, a woman of commonplace character and ability. Struggles between the Whigs and Tories filled her reign. Like William and Mary, she too died without leaving children; hence she was succeeded by the German *George I*, who was already Elector of Hannover (see the table on page 130).

Both George I and his son George II were more interested in their German principality than in England and spent much of their time on the Continent. They did not even attend cabinet meetings. As a result this body became more and more the real heart and soul of the English government. During the reign of the first two Georges (1714–1760) the management of affairs was left to the ministers. For nearly half that time the leading man in the cabinet was *Sir Robert Walpole*, a Whig. He selected the other ministers, and put before parliament his own plans in the king's name. Walpole is properly called “the first Prime Minister.” Thus the reign of these two foreigners, George I and George II, gave a great impetus to true cabinet government. The “king's ministers” were fairly on the way to become the “ministers of parliament.”

Unhappily, parliament itself by no means really represented the whole nation. Walpole sought earnestly, and on the whole wisely, to advance the material prosperity of England, and

especially to build up her trade. Accordingly he clung tenaciously to a policy of peace. But he ruled largely by unblushing corruption. "Every man has his price," was one of his political maxims, and he certainly found it possible to buy members of parliament with gifts of lucrative offices — oftentimes offices with no duties attached to them. During his rule it was not the parliamentary majority that made the ministry, but the ministry

that made the parliamentary majority. The same method, used only a little less shamelessly, was the means by which the ministers of George III in the next generation managed parliament, and brought it to drive the American colonies into war.



SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

133. The revolution of 1688 did not extend toleration to Catholics. The Catholics had naturally supported the Stuart kings, especially James II, from whom they expected great relief. All their hopes were dashed to the ground by the

accession of William III. William was personally not inclined to religious persecution, but popular feeling, which saw in the Catholics the secret allies of the exiled James, ran so high that a policy of toleration was well-nigh impossible. They were excluded from all rights granted to Dissenters, debarred from higher education and public offices, in fact from nearly all social intercourse with others of the same class. Priests of course were prohibited from the exercise of their office, and spies who secured the conviction of a priest reaped a rich reward. The persecution continued during Anne's reign. Under the Georges it gradually abated, but to the end of the

eighteenth century the lot of the Catholics was that of despised outcasts.

134. The fate of the Irish Catholics was even worse. They, too, had enjoyed a period of relative tranquillity under the last two Stuarts. James especially made sincere attempts to procure redress for some Irish grievances. No wonder then that Ireland supported the cause of the exiled king.

In 1689 he landed on the Irish coast with a French force given to him by Louis XIV. The Irish welcomed him enthusiastically, but after the landing of an English army under William, James' hopes sank. William won a decisive victory on the river *Boyne* (1690), and James at once returned to France. The Irish continued the contest for a while with varying success. The peace treaty of *Limerick* (October, 1691) granted the country favorable terms, but was soon after shamefully violated.

The worst persecution in Irish history then followed. A code of *Penal Laws* was built up which reduced the unhappy isle to the most degrading servitude. All bishops and religious were exiled. The rest of the priests were required to take an oath of allegiance to which their conscience objected, and in case of refusal were banished. The Irish Catholic was excluded from the Irish parliament, from the army, from every government office high or low. He could not bequeath his estate to any one, or buy or inherit land. He had no access to any educational institution nor could he establish schools of his own. Every conceivable inducement was held out to those who would abandon their faith, yet to the everlasting glory of the Irish race the vast majority of the nation remained unshaken in their loyal attachment to the religion of their fathers.

135. England and Scotland were joined to form "Great Britain." As we have seen, James I (1603) joined Scotland and England under one crown (§ 93). A century later (1707) this "personal union" was made a true consolidation by the *Act of Union*, adopted by the parliaments of both countries. Scotland gave up her separate legislature and became part of the

“ United Kingdom ” with the right to send members to the English parliament and to keep her established Presbyterian church. The Union Jack, combining the cross of St. Andrew, the emblem of Scotland, with that of St. George, the standard of England, was adopted as the flag of Great Britain.

Ireland, too, as we have seen, came under the complete control of England. And the same seventeenth century which witnessed the conquest of Ireland by Cromwell saw another and vaster expansion of England and of Europe, to which we now turn.

CHAPTER X

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

THE FIRST PHASE: SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

136. The Search for New Trade Routes. — We have studied several great phases of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — the Renaissance of art, literature, and learning, the Protestant Reformation, the century of religious wars on the Continent, and, in England, the Puritan movement and the rise of political liberty. One other aspect of those centuries, quite as important as any of these, is yet to be surveyed. This is the *expansion of Europe into new worlds*.

The beginnings we have already noted (§ 13). Europe's growing commerce with the Orient was threatened in the fifteenth century by the Turks. To get into the rear of these barbarians, Europe, astir with the new life of the Renaissance, sought new routes to Asia. *Portugal* found one to the south around Africa. *Columbus* with the aid of Spain tried a still bolder western route and stumbled on America in his path.

137. Rapid Expansion of Spain in the New World. — Portugal quickly built an empire in the Indian Ocean and the "Spice Islands" of the western Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise the sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain. The story of her conquests is a tale of heroic endurance, though at times marred by deeds of oppression and cruelty. Spain did not attempt settlement on the mainland until twenty years after the discovery; but once this was begun her handful of explorers and soldiers sped swiftly north and south; and by 1550 she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil), Central America, Mexico far up the Pacific coast to present-day

Oregon, and the Floridas. The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea were Spanish lakes, and even the Pacific was a "closed sea."

Spain was planning to extend her empire still farther north, when in 1588 her sea power received a fatal blow at the hands of the English in the ruin of her Invincible Armada (§ 73).

After Spain and Portugal the other seaboard countries of Europe tried their fortunes in America. But Holland in her half-century of rebellion against Spain turned her chief energies to seizing Portugal's old empire in the Orient, which had now become Spain's (§ 71, note). The Swedish colonies on the Delaware were never formidable to the claims of other nations, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus (§ 79). And so North America east of the Rockies was left to France and England.

FRANCE IN AMERICA

138. Interior of North America the Scene of French Colonization. — After a quarter-century of exploration Champlain founded the first permanent French colony at Quebec in 1608. Explorers, traders, and missionaries soon traversed the Great Lakes and established stations at various points still known by their French names. Towards the close of the century (1682), after years of gallant effort, La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up French claims to the entire valley. After that New France consisted of a colony on the St. Lawrence in the far north and the semitropical colony of New Orleans, joined to each other by a thin chain of trading posts and military stations along the connecting waterways.

French statesmen were ambitious to build a French colonial empire in America. The same inspiring thought animated the French explorers — splendid patriots like Champlain, Joliet, Ribault, and La Salle. France, too, sent forth the most zealous and heroic of missionaries to convert the savages. The names of Lalemant, Brebeuf, Jøgues, Marquette, are among the most brilliant in the history of the Catholic missions. Missionary

zeal played a much greater part in French and Spanish than in English colonization. The English Puritans, stiff and narrow-minded, preferred to despoil and exterminate the Indian rather than to uplift and convert him.



LA SALLE TAKING POSSESSION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

139. Weaknesses in French Plan of Colonization. — Although the French colonies were strong in leaders, they were weak in certain vital matters that depended on the mass of the colonists. They lacked homes, individual enterprise, and political life.

New France was not a country of homes or of agriculture. The territory occupied was too enormous and the settlers too few to make New France really French in character. In all the settlements the number of French was never more than one tenth of the population that occupied the English colonies. Moreover, if we except a few leaders and missionaries, the settlers were either unprogressive peasants or reckless adventurers. For the most part they did not bring their families, and, if they married, they took Indian wives. Agriculture was the only

basis for a permanent colony; but these adventurous Frenchmen, called *coureurs de bois* or wood rangers, preferred to be trappers, hunters, or explorers, and adopted Indian habits. The French government sought in vain to remedy this by sending over women of marriageable age and by offering bonuses for early marriages and large families. The Huguenots, who were often skillful artisans and good farmers, were forced to settle on other soil, for Louis XIV would not have that religious division in his colonies which he strove to eradicate at home.

The complete dependence of the colonies on the mother country hindered their development. New France was taught to depend, not on herself, but on the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. This system is called paternalism. Trade was shackled by unwise restrictions and hampered almost as much by unwise encouragements. The rulers did everything. Colonial governors asked for "money to build storehouses," for "a teacher to make sailors," for surgeons, and at various times, for brickmakers, ironworkers, and pilots. New France usually got the help she asked; but she did not learn to do without it.

A third element of weakness was the absence of a separate political life in the colonies. France herself had become a centralized despotism (§ 144), and her rulers looked at the colonies as a mere expansion of France, to be governed and taxed and protected by the king. Though the officials of the French colonies were for the most part honest and able men, they were not the choice of the colonists, but the appointees of the crown. The civil law in force was that of the mother country, scarcely modified to meet different conditions. Hence the minute regulations as to public meetings, precedence of officials on public occasions, and the number of cattle a man might own, which formed part of the administrative system of France, applied equally to the colonies. It is true that the colonies for the most part were satisfied with this arrangement. But when the larger policies of the home government suggested the abandon-

ment of the colonies, they fell an easy prey to their more self-reliant neighbors.

ENGLAND IN AMERICA

140. Forces in Colonization. — Very different from New France was the fringe of English colonies that grew up on the Atlantic coast. They never received a king's subsidies, but often grew out of a king's persecution, and asked no favor but to be let alone.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half over, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the overshadowing might of Spain. Out of that rivalry America was born — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual and adventurous patriots. Reckless freebooters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought profit and honor for themselves and injury to the foe by raiding the far-flung realms of New Spain.

More farsighted statesmen, like Raleigh, saw that English colonies in America would be "a great Bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine," and so began attempts to "put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth." But contrary to their expectations, the American colonies hardly participated in the struggle of their mother country with Spain. Instead, they became the battle ground in the strife with the other great rival of England — France.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, in Elizabeth's reign, made the first attempts at colonization in Newfoundland and Virginia. These first efforts proved, however, failures,



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

chiefly because the English lacked experience, and indulged in vain hopes of finding gold and treasure instead of turning at once to agriculture. The mother country, moreover, took little interest in these schemes at a time when all England watched with breathless attention the outcome of the struggle with Spain's Armada (§ 73).

After the death of Elizabeth and the downfall of Spanish sea power, things took a different turn. Under James I the efforts at colonization were organized and therefore more successful. A company — the Virginia Company — was formed with two branches, the London and the Plymouth branch, one colonizing the south, the other the north. In spite of many setbacks these colonial efforts led to permanent results and laid the foundation of America.

What class of people were the founders of our colonies? During the long period of peace following the Wars of the Roses the English population had increased rapidly, amounting in James I's time to about four million souls. This figure is of course far below the present, yet under the industrial system of that time England needed an outlet for this "crowded" population. We have seen (§ 84) how sheep-raising had turned much of England's farmland into pasture land, and how consequently the economic situation of the peasant had become much worse. Many of these peasants now went to the new settlements beyond the sea and furnished them with the manual labor so badly needed. Capital and capitalists were needed too, and soon came forward. Conditions in England after the death of Elizabeth turned some of the wealthier classes to American adventure. Until James I made peace with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of the gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence against the Spaniards, or became adventurers and freebooters, who under Drake and others preyed upon the Spanish trade on the high seas. With peace they were left with nothing to do and many of them turned to America in quest of new adventure.

At first they proved a restless element, but experience gradually taught them the real needs of frontier life, and they became excellent colonists.

Such were the forces in English life that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign Puritanism was added to these forces, and before the Long Parliament met (1640) there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic coast in New England. Another element constituting American colonial society was the indentured servants. They were convicts from overcrowded English prisons sold to American planters and bound to serve for a term of years, after which they were set free. Besides, during Cromwell's rule, many shiploads of exiled Irish Catholics were sold into the American service. Thus the honored and the persecuted, the good and the refuse of England, contributed toward the population of colonial America.

At the time of the "Glorious Revolution" (1688) the northern and southern groups of settlements had expanded within about eighty years into a broad band of twelve great colonies reaching from Maine to Georgia, with a population of a quarter of a million.

141. Freedom. — The colonies all enjoyed the English common law, with its trial by jury, freedom of speech, and other personal liberties; and almost as soon as founded they developed also a large degree of political liberty. They all possessed their own representative assemblies elected by the people and taking an important share in law-making. These assemblies were all modeled on the English parliament.

It is important to remember that not all elements of English life, but only the more democratic part was transferred to America. No hereditary nobles or monarch or bishop of the Established Church ever made part of colonial America. Moreover, that part of English society which did come was drawn towards still greater democracy by the presence of unlimited free land. This abundance of free land made it relatively easy

for the inferior and dependent classes to make themselves independent and thus to take a share in government equal to that enjoyed by the more fortunate colonists.

Nevertheless, in those colonial days there was very little of that great boon of which Americans of the present day are justly proud — religious liberty. More than one sect, strong in the possession of civil power, bore down heavily upon those of another belief. The colonies, with some exceptions, were the seats of fierce religious fanaticism, notably New England. Catholics were either proscribed or barely tolerated, loaded with heavy taxes, and in not a single colony, except for a brief period in Maryland, were they in full enjoyment of those personal and civil liberties mentioned above. Relief came to them only with the independence of the colonies, when on the battle field they won the esteem of their fellow citizens by their patriotism and bravery.

In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars. The conflict in Europe between William III of England and Louis XIV of France became a hundred years' conflict (1690-1815) for empire in America and Asia.

PART III: THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV AND FREDERICK II (THE GREAT)

CHAPTER XI

FRENCH PREËMINENCE IN EUROPE

CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD

142. Royal Absolutism. — The period between the Peace of Westphalia and the French Revolution (1648–1789) was on the Continent an age of full-grown princely absolutism. The ruler recognized no power independent of himself. The royal will was supreme and without constitutional checks. As we have seen, there had been similar tendencies in the English monarchs, especially the Tudors and Stuarts, but the victory of parliament had prevented their further growth.

On the Continent parliamentary institutions had never taken such a firm hold on the nations. In medieval times there were other institutions which effectually restrained the lust of power. Prosperous cities secured a considerable amount of self-government. A semi-independent nobility often forced its will on a reluctant monarch. But by this time feudal society had almost disappeared. True, nobles still existed in large numbers, but their sovereignty over particular territories had in many cases been reduced to mere titles. This was especially true of France. Another excellent check upon royal absolutism had been the power of the Church, in particular of the pope. In former times many a haughty monarch was brought to his knees by the powerful weapon of excommunication or deposition. But in the religious upheaval of the sixteenth century many rulers denied the authority of the Holy See. The Reformers, though

they appealed to private judgment in religious matters, were only too anxious to invoke the assistance of the state in order to force their views upon others. Thus they increased the sense of independence in the princes.

Although the Catholic rulers had little sympathy with the doctrines of Protestantism, they saw that greater independence from the pope and the Church would augment their own importance. Hence we note in all countries in this period attempts to hedge in the freedom of the spiritual power, and especially to control the appointments to higher ecclesiastical offices. The clergy thus appointed were in most cases respectable men, but they naturally lacked zeal and courage in defending the rights of the Church.

143. Balance of Power. — In foreign policy this period was remarkable for the unscrupulous pursuit of self-aggrandizement and of military glory. In this frenzy the kings often completely forgot the true welfare of the people. The motive of nearly every war was jealousy of the rising power of a neighbor, distrust which saw in the growth of another state sufficient reason to rob some other weaker state. It became the chief object of statesmen to keep any one country from growing too strong for its neighbor's safety. This was called maintaining the balance of power.

During this century and a half of absolutism the stage was held by one or another of three gifted rulers, Louis XIV of France (1643-1715), Peter the Great of Russia (1689-1725), and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-1786). The main influence of Peter the Great was spent directly upon his own country; but Louis and Frederick belong to all Europe, and the period is covered by the Age of Louis XIV and the Age of Frederick II.

WARS OF LOUIS XIV

144. Before this period opened, the talented and masterful Richelieu (§ 77) had crushed the power of the nobility in France and made them practically mere officers of the crown. The

provincial assemblies, with a few exceptions, were gradually abolished, and the National Assembly (the Estates General) never met after 1614 until the Revolution (1789). Richelieu passed away in 1642, almost at the same time as his sovereign Louis XIII. During the minority of Louis XIV (1643-1661) Cardinal Mazarin guided the ship of state. He succeeded in



LOUIS XIV AND HIS COURT RECEIVING THE GREAT CONDÉ

The prince of Condé was one of the king's ablest generals. He is here shown returning from a victory over William III.

securing to France very favorable terms in the Peace of Westphalia (§ 81). At home he suppressed the last dangerous rising of the nobles. At his death Louis declared that henceforth he would be his own prime minister.

145. At first it seemed as if the reign of the energetic young king was to be prosperous and peaceful. With the assistance of his able minister Colbert he adopted wise financial measures, encouraged manufactures and commerce, and zealously watched over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 he began a series of wars that filled most of the remaining forty

years of his reign. These wars produced several of the greatest French generals, among them Turenne, Condé, and Vauban, the foremost military engineer of his time. In the first twelve years of war Louis sought extension on his northern frontier, while in a second series of wars, begun in 1689, he aimed at conquests on his eastern and southern boundaries.

146. The War with the Netherlands. — In 1667 Louis XIV, on a flimsy pretext and without any declaration of war, invaded the Spanish Netherlands. It will be remembered that this rich territory had become separated from the northern Dutch provinces as a result of the rebellion of the Netherlands against Philip II (§ 71) and had remained under the sovereignty of Spain. At first the French encountered little resistance. But then the Dutch to the north became alarmed at the prospect of getting the aggressive Louis as neighbor, and concluded an alliance with England and Sweden against France. Louis thought it wiser to withdraw and, for the moment, to be satisfied with a fringe of Spanish fortresses just beyond his northern boundary.

However, the king was determined to have his revenge upon the Dutch for having thwarted him. By skillful diplomacy he first isolated them from their allies and then attacked them with his whole might. He easily overran the greater part of the country, but when he approached the capital, Amsterdam, the heroic Hollanders cut the dikes, and the North Sea drove back the French armies. Meanwhile the little commonwealth intrusted the government to William of Orange (who afterward became William III of England; see § 127). While the doughty Dutch sailors under Admiral de Ruyter held off the French fleet, William succeeded in gaining allies. Emperor Leopold I, Spain, and others made common cause with William against the common danger. For several years the fearful struggle was waged on land and sea, along the Rhine, in Holland, in the Mediterranean, and in the New World. Exhaustion compelled peace. The Dutch Republic remained intact, but Louis won from Spain the Free County of Burgundy.

147. During the ten years of peace that followed Louis continued to seize bits of territory along the Rhine, especially the important free city of Strasbourg and other portions of Alsace which had not been ceded in the Peace of Westphalia. The emperor was unable to do more than protest against these encroachments, for he was fully occupied with the Turks who had just laid siege to Vienna, 1683 (§ 169).

Another important event of this period was Louis' treatment of the Huguenots. Richelieu had broken their political power (§ 77) but otherwise left them alone. Louis determined to go further. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes (§ 76), closed the Calvinistic churches, and banished their preachers. Laymen were forbidden to leave the country, but prohibited from any public exercise of their religion. Nevertheless, large numbers of Huguenots found their way into Holland, Prussia, England, and America. This measure was prompted by the memories of their former fanatical attacks upon Church and State, the popular aversion against them, and the fear that they sympathized with Protestant England. But it deprived France of many thrifty citizens and skilled workers and profoundly stirred Protestant Europe. In Germany it put a stop to a widespread movement for reunion with the Catholic Church, in Holland it led to retaliation against the Catholics, and in England it filled the nation with suspicion against its Catholic king, James II, and his schemes for religious toleration (§ 126).

148. The second series of wars opened with an attack by Louis upon the Palatinate, the rich province of the Empire just north of Alsace. This was in 1689, the year after the Glorious Revolution in England. Louis began hostilities by a terrible devastation of the unhappy country. Entire cities with fine cathedrals and historic buildings were destroyed, and brutalities quite equal to those of the Thirty Years' War were heaped upon the innocent inhabitants.

To meet this new aggression, an alliance was formed including the emperor, William III (now king of England as well as ruler

of Holland), Spain, and others. The entrance of England widened the struggle into a titanic contest between England and France for world empire. In part it was waged in America, where in history it is known as "King William's War"¹ (1689-1697). The exiled James II thought this a good opportunity for regaining the English crown, but his campaign in Ireland proved an utter failure (§ 134). Louis himself made practically no gains; in fact, he had to surrender everything annexed since the Dutch war except the city of Strasbourg.

149. War of the Spanish Succession. — The French king then sought extension on his southern boundary. The king of Spain, Charles II, was dying. He was childless and brotherless, and all Europe had long been discussing what would become of his vast realms. The student will remember that Charles I (Emperor Charles V) had bestowed upon his Spanish heirs the greater part of his dominions, that is, Spain with her many colonies, the Netherlands, and his Italian possessions (§ 37).

The question now was: Who will inherit all this? Louis had married one sister of Charles II, Emperor Leopold I another. The former had, however, renounced all claims to Spain, while the latter had explicitly reserved them. Others, especially William III, king of England and stadtholder of Holland, objected that the union of so large a territory would disturb the balance of power (§ 143). Thus the emperor and the French king had been considering for some time how they might divide the Spanish possessions between the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons. When Charles II died in 1700, however, it was discovered that he had left a will which gave the whole inheritance to Louis' younger grandson Philip, but on the condition that France and Spain should never be united.

When Louis XIV accepted the will, making it clear that he considered Spain and France the domain of his own family,

¹ In 1692 the English utterly defeated a French fleet in a famous naval battle off La Hogue. This victory secured to Great Britain the mastery of the sea.

Europe stood united against him in the *War of the Spanish Succession*. William III was the soul of the alliance against France, but he died just as hostilities were beginning. Nevertheless, under Queen Anne the war was continued for the next eleven years. Again the struggle spread to America, where it is known as "Queen Anne's War." In Europe the English general Marlborough and the Austrian commander Prince Eugene, for the first time, brought victory to the allies. They won terrible battles over the hitherto invincible armies of France at Blenheim on the Danube, at Ramillies, Audenarde, and Malplaquet in the Netherlands.

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) was one of the great general peace treaties in history. It changed the map of Europe as few other treaties had done. (1) Philip was permitted to retain Spain and her colonies, but had to renounce all claim to the French throne. (2) The Austrian Hapsburgs received the former Spanish possessions in the Netherlands and in Italy (§ 37). The territory thus acquired in Italy, Milan, and Naples gave Austria that hold on the peninsula which ended only in 1866. (3) England received from France Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region, and so began the expulsion of the French from North America. Besides, she secured from Spain the fortress of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca.

CONDITIONS IN FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

150. The French court was the model and the envy of all other kings, and Louis won the title of the Great King (Grand Monarque). Yet we can now see that his policy was mistaken, even from a purely selfish view. For his wars he could not even offer the excuse of strengthening France against dangerous neighbors, for after 1648 the Empire, as well as Spain, was too weak to think of aggression. Louis fought only to enlarge his borders.

In this he was partially successful, but he exhausted France and left the nation burdened with debt through the next century.

At the close of his reign the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, more than half of which went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created. Too, in his



THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES

*Publishers' Photo Service*

PART OF THE GARDENS AT VERSAILLES

unjust attacks upon his neighbors in Europe he had wasted the strength that might have intrenched France as mistress in Asia and America.

151. Intellectually, even more than politically, France under Louis XIV led Europe. And this continued to be true in the next or eighteenth century. She set the standard in art, literature, taste, and manners. The brilliant center from which all these influences radiated was the royal court at Versailles. Louis' palace there, about twelve miles from Paris, with its gardens and outlying buildings, was the most magnificent the West had ever seen, and on its construction the king had spent fabulous sums.

Life at the court was on an equally splendid and costly scale. Here were gathered the beauty, wit, and learning of France. The royal household numbered over fifteen thousand persons, all living in luxury and idleness at the expense of the people. The old feudal nobles who could afford the life were attracted to Versailles, not only by the splendor of the court, but also because they could hope to



MOLIÈRE

win favor only by living close to the king. Life at the court, though regulated by the most fastidious etiquette and by exquisite taste, was nevertheless shamefully corrupt. Seldom was vice more gilded and made more attractive by polished manners than in the palace of Louis XIV.

152. Under the patronage of the king, learning and literature also reached new heights. The liberal gifts of the king attracted men of learning and genius. Their work in turn inspired others, and thus the age of Louis XIV became the classical period of French literature. Corneille and Racine were the classical

French dramatists, while Molière in a series of inimitable comedies held up to ridicule the vices and follies of his time. Among the prose-writers the names of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, the greatest French pulpit orators, and of the pious and gentle Fénelon will always be held in the highest esteem.

153. But behind this gilded society lay misery and oppression. The costly wars and the extravagance of Louis reduced the peasantry to a pitiable condition. Fénelon dared to write to the king: "Your people are dying of hunger. The cultivation of the soil is almost abandoned. The towns and the country decrease in population." Thousands of peasants were reduced to starvation, especially in the terrible winter of 1693-1694. No wonder, then, that the tidings of the death of the Great King were received throughout France with rejoicing. "The people had shed too many tears during his life to have any left for his death," remarked a satirist of the time. Louis had promoted political despotism, economic misery, and social inequality. The outcome of all this was the French Revolution, seventy-four years after his death.

CHAPTER XII

THE RISE OF RUSSIA

154. The Origin of the Russian State. — “ Westward the course of empire takes its way ” — sang the poet of the white man’s conquest of the New World. But in a sketch of the expansion of the Russian people living around Moscow we have to speak rather of an eastward movement, at any rate before the opening of the eighteenth century. Men from the west, Swedish vikings, were the first to bring to the Slavic nomads of the eastern plains something like organized government. Civilization and Christianity came to Russia from Constantinople.

For two centuries, from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth, the Russians were subject to Mongol or Tatar power. Beginning with the province of Muscovy or Moscow gradually one after the other was freed from the Tatar yoke until what is now European Russia was united under Ivan the Great (1462–1505), Grand Duke of Moscow. His successor assumed the title of Tsar (from Caesar, the old Roman title for emperor). The absence of natural barriers such as high mountains or large deserts invited eastward expansion. In less than a century, from about 1550 to 1638, Russian settlers had acquired the Asiatic plains from the Caspian to the Pacific.

The greatest drawback to this vast empire was the lack of an outlet to the western seas and of contact with western Europe. Tatars and Turks shut off Russia from the Black Sea, the Swedes controlled the Baltic, and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany.

Russia therefore was really Asiatic in geography, and the people were Asiatic in manners and thought. Even the court imitated the customs of the Mongols. When eastern Christendom in the eleventh century broke away from the union with the Holy See, under the leadership of the patriarch of Constantinople, the Russian people gradually were drawn into this schism. They thus lost the one bond which would have kept them in the family of the western Christian nations.



CHURCH OF ST. BASIL, MOSCOW

Originally the exterior was painted in brilliant colors. The onion-shaped domes are characteristic of much Russian architecture.

155. Peter the Great (1689–1725) turned Russia to Europe. Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. He admired the material results of western civilization, and determined to Europeanize his people. He wanted to get the Baltic coast from Sweden, and the Black Sea from the Turks, so as to have “windows to look out upon Europe.”

As the first step, the young tsar decided to learn at first hand all he could about the Western world he so admired. He went to Holland and studied shipbuilding as a workman in the navy yards. He also visited most of the other countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable greed for information. He inspected cutleries, museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military

stores. He engaged choice artists, goldbeaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers to return with him to Russia, but the promises of great pay he made them were not very well kept.

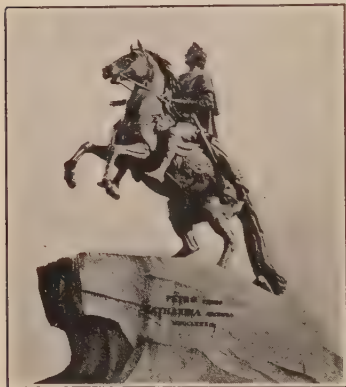
156. The European culture of Russia did not extend very far below the surface. Peter sought to introduce Western civilization into Russia by means of the workmen and experts he brought back with him. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and to come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic methods." He "civilized by the cudgel." The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Russian and Oriental. Peter, too, made a radical change in the government of the Russian Church. In 1700 he abolished the patriarchate and put at the head of the Church a committee appointed by himself, the Holy Synod. By means of the Holy Synod the tsars down to 1917 kept the Russian clergy in absolute subjection.

157. Peter also began the long series of efforts to gain for Russia a good port. On the south he made no permanent advance, despite a series of wars with Turkey, but he bequeathed his policy to his successors, and ever since his day Constantinople has been the goal of Russian ambition in this direction.

The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, "the Glorious Madman of the North." Sweden was a thinly populated country with no great natural resources. For a century a line of great kings and the disciplined bravery of her soldiery had made her a leading power in Europe, but such leadership could hardly be permanent. She had grown at the expense of Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Brandenburg; and when Charles XII came to the Swedish throne in 1697, a mere boy of fifteen, these states leagued against him.

Charles, like Gustavus before him, was a military genius, and for a long time he was victorious against this overwhelming

coalition. But he wore out his resources in winning Pyrrhic victories that did not destroy his huge antagonists. Early in the struggle he defeated Peter the Great at *Narva*, with an army not more than an eighth as large as the Russian force, but while Charles was busied in Poland and Germany, Russia recovered herself, and in 1709 Peter crushed him at *Poltava*.



STATUE OF PETER THE GREAT

As Peter had rightly predicted, the Swedes themselves had taught him how to beat them. Sweden never recovered her military supremacy. Russia secured the Swedish provinces on the east coast of the Baltic as far north as the Gulf of Finland. These districts had been colonized three centuries before by the Teutonic Knights, one of the several religious and military orders founded during

the crusades (§ 40), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. Thus the acquisition not only gave Russia a door into Europe, but actually brought part of Europe inside Russia. It was in this new territory that Peter founded St. Petersburg, renamed Petrograd (1914), and later Leningrad (1924).

158. The second important acquisition of territory was made by the *Empress Elizabeth*, daughter of Peter, who seized most of Finland from Sweden. Toward the close of the century, under *Catherine II*, Russia made great progress along the Black Sea and on the west at the expense of Poland (§ 173). This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.

CHAPTER XIII

GROWTH OF PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — GREAT BRITAIN OVERSEAS

PRUSSIA BEFORE FREDERICK THE GREAT

159. Thus far we have had occasion to mention only once a new northern state which was to have a decisive influence in shaping events in central Europe. We have seen how the Electorate of Brandenburg came into the possession of the Hohenzollern family, and how a member of another branch of that family during the Protestant Reformation changed the land of the Teutonic Knights into a secular principality, the "Duchy of Prussia," for himself and his descendants (§ 40).

Later it was arranged that, if the line of the dukes of Prussia should die out, the title and territory were to go to the Brandenburg branch of the Hohenzollerns. This actually happened under Elector John Sigismund in 1618. The same elector secured also the duchy of Cleves in the extreme west of Germany. Thereafter the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg ruled over three widely separated provinces — on the Rhine, the Elbe, and the Vistula. Eventually the three parts were united by the annexation of the intermediate lands. But this was not accomplished until 1866.

160. The Great Elector. — Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War Frederick William, the "Great Elector," came to the throne of Brandenburg. He took part in that struggle and as a reward secured eastern Pomerania, which extended his territory to the Baltic, but to his great chagrin western Pomerania with its excellent harbors became Swedish (§ 81). Shortly afterward he obtained from Poland the recognition of the independence of Prussia.

Though he was in a measure the creator of the first distinctly Prussian army, his chief services during his long reign were rendered in peace, not in war. He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged agriculture, and welcomed the Huguenot fugitives from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Frederick I, son and successor of the Great Elector, in return for aid against Louis XIV, secured the emperor's consent to adopt the title *King in Prussia* (1701). This brought no increase in territory and legally applied only to territory situated beyond the boundaries of the Empire. But the name "Prussia" was gradually given to all the Hohenzollern possessions.

Frederick I was a rather narrow-minded and rude "drill sergeant," who devoted his whole energy to building up and training an efficient army. His son, Frederick the Great (Frederick II), was to use this army with consummate skill.

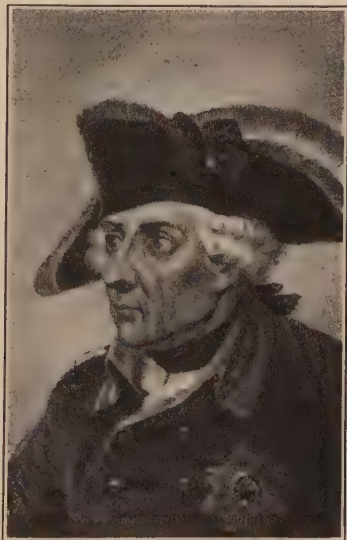
FREDERICK THE GREAT, 1740-1786

161. The Silesian War. — In the same year that Frederick came to the throne (1740) the Hapsburg emperor Charles VI died without leaving a male heir. Before his death the states of the Empire and foreign powers had consented to an arrangement by which Charles left his hereditary dominions to his daughter Maria Theresa (1740-1780). These dominions included Austria proper, Hungary, Bohemia, the Tyrol, and the Austrian Netherlands, besides some smaller territories in Italy and elsewhere. The imperial crown of course was not within his gift, but the electors bestowed it later on Maria's husband, after it had been worn for a number of years by a Bavarian prince.

As soon as Maria Theresa took possession of her inheritance, Frederick of Prussia invaded one of her fairest provinces, Silesia. This high-handed act was the signal for a general onslaught on the Hapsburg realms. France, Spain, Bavaria and others hurried to snatch away choice morsels. But Maria Theresa

displayed unexpected courage and ability. Her subjects, especially the gallant Hungarian nobles, rallied loyally to her support, and a little later England and Holland added their strength to the Austrian side. Thus France and England again found themselves on opposite sides of hostile alliances.

The war ended in 1748. Austria lost no territory except Silesia, where the Austrians had been unable to resist the well-trained Prussians under the magnificent leadership of Frederick. That monarch had proved himself the best general of the age. Prussia by the acquisition of Silesia now reached down into the heart of the other German states, and was henceforth the rival of Austria within the Empire.



FREDERICK THE GREAT

162. The War beyond Europe. — Although the greatest battles were fought on Euro-

pean soil,¹ the contest outside Europe was in the long run of much greater importance. There it was a renewal of the struggle for world empire between England and France. In America a New England expedition captured the fortress of Louisburg. In India the French leader, Dupleix, saw a chance to secure an Asiatic empire for his country, and, though greatly hampered by indifference at home, he captured a number of English stations in that country.

The treaty of peace restored matters to their former position,

¹ The best-known of them is the battle of Fontenoy (Belgium), where the impetuous bravery of the Irish exiles won a decisive victory for France. Read T. O. Davis's poem "Fontenoy."

in both America and India, but the war made England and France feel more clearly than ever before that they were rivals for vast realms outside Europe. Whether Prussia or Austria was to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria was to hold the Netherlands, were relatively insignificant questions in comparison with the mightier question as to what nation and what political ideals should control the New World. The next war of Frederick with Maria Theresa was to bring the answer to these questions.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-1763

163. In Europe. — The eight years following the Silesian War were merely a preparation for another struggle on a larger scale. Frederick knew that Maria Theresa had not given up all hope of recovering her fair Silesia. Accordingly, he improved the time in developing the resources of his kingdom and in perfecting the organization of his army. Austria did the same.

In the meantime hostilities between England and France had never come to a full stop. They, too, both foresaw the impending clash, and naturally cast about for allies. The English ministry, chiefly in order to protect Hannover on the Continent, concluded an alliance with Frederick, whereby the integrity of that land was guaranteed. Later, when the great English statesman *William Pitt* became prime minister, rich subsidies were granted to Frederick and English troops were landed in Hannover. On the other side Kaunitz, the clever adviser of Maria Theresa, negotiated an alliance with Austria's old enemy, France. Thus England and France were again in opposite camps, but had exchanged their allies. Russia, whose ruler, Elizabeth, had a personal grudge against Frederick, came to the assistance of Maria Theresa. When Sweden, too, became an ally of France, Frederick's little kingdom was hard pressed indeed.

The Prussian king resolved to have the advantage of an offensive, and in 1756 he opened hostilities by an invasion of Saxony,

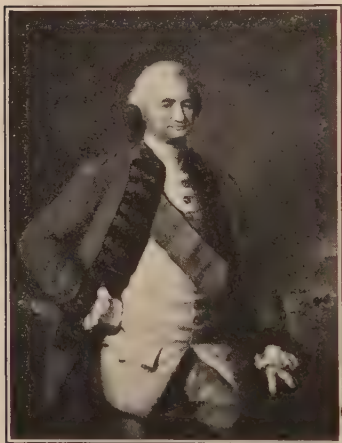
one of Austria's allies. Then began what is known in history as the *Seven Years' War*. On the Continent fortune at first favored Frederick. In the brilliant victories of Rossbach, Leuthen, and Zorndorf he successively defeated the French, the Austrians, and the Russians, and forced all Europe to acknowledge him as one of the greatest generals in history.

However, the odds against Frederick the Great were overwhelming. His dominions were drained of men, England withdrew her aid, reverses on the battle field followed. At this point a fortunate change in Russia came to his assistance. Elizabeth died in 1762, and her successor, an enthusiastic admirer of Frederick, changed Russian enmity into friendship. Frederick again gained important successes, and in the following year all belligerents were glad to sign the terms of peace. The treaty changed nothing in the map of Europe; Silesia remained a Prussian province. More important by far were the changes abroad.

164. In America. — The Seven Years' War is known in our history as the *French and Indian War*. Pitt was working to build up a great British empire at the expense of France. Hence he assisted Frederick with funds, while the English navy swept the seas. On American soil the chief feature of the war was the taking of Quebec by Wolfe and its heroic defense by Montcalm. The treaty of peace gave to England the whole of Canada (in the north) and Florida (in the south). The latter was ceded by Spain, which had been an ally of France. To compensate Spain for the loss, France made over to her New Orleans and the whole of Louisiana. Thus English power and English civilization held sway from the Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi.

This swollen power was not to last very long. Twelve years later began the *American War of Independence* which deprived England of the best part of her American colonies. The causes of this war are intimately bound up with the results of the Seven Years' War. England, heavily burdened with debts on account

of the war, tried to tax her colonies and make them support her soldiery. The colonists, on the other hand, during the struggle in America, had become conscious of their own strength and



ROBERT CLIVE

military qualities, and the removal of French power from their northern boundaries made them less anxious for protection by the mother country.

However, the secession of the American colonies did not injure England as much as friends and foes expected. The commerce of the United States continued to be carried on mainly through England, and, very soon, the new nation with its growing wealth was buying more English goods than the old colonies had been able to

buy. For her loss in territory England, to some degree, found compensation in the acquisition of *Australia* (1788).

165. In India. — In far-away India too, the Seven Years' War was merely a continuation of the struggle begun during the Silesian War. Dupleix, the French leader (§ 162), had been recalled by the short-sighted French government. The English, on the other hand, possessed in young Robert Clive a man perfectly able to take care of British interests in India. The native prince of Bengal treacherously seized the English port of Calcutta, and packed the 146 Europeans into a small close dungeon, where nearly all suffocated in one night. This crime is known as the "Black Hole of Calcutta" (1756). Clive at once organized an expedition which put an end to the independence of Bengal.

In numerous other engagements, with French as well as native forces, he thoroughly established English supremacy over a large



part of India, and his successors completed the task. Again the half-hearted support given by the French government to its representatives in India and the frightful corruption of French officials made their colonies easy victims of the aggressive English. In the general peace France still maintained some nominal control over her former possessions in India, but under such restrictions that they ceased to have any great value for her. Thus England came out of the Seven Years' War as the real conqueror. Her colonial supremacy and her mastery of the seas were firmly established. England had become a world empire.

166. Frederick the Great as Administrator. — After 1763 Frederick's kingdom of Prussia enjoyed a long period of much-needed rest. It must be admitted that the unscrupulous diplomat and aggressive conqueror showed himself in several ways an excellent administrator. Frederick took up the work of the Great Elector again and carried it forward vigorously. He took a lively interest in the development of good farming, but gave still more care to the development of manufacturing. His policy was to foster home industries by high import duties. He spared no pains to induce foreign artisans to settle on his territory and raise the standards of Prussian workmen. His efforts along these lines succeeded. Wealth and comfort increased rapidly and helped more than his victories to make him popular. With his officials he sternly insisted on efficiency and honesty, and with such good results that the fairness and justice of the Prussian courts, for instance, became proverbial. Less praise can be given to his influence on literature. Though not without literary tastes, he was imbued with the ideals of Voltaire and was an admirer of the mocking and cynical tone of the French writers of the eighteenth century (§ 189). For the rising German literature (some of its masterpieces had already appeared), he had a profound contempt.

Frederick was a nearly perfect type of the "benevolent despot," of whom the eighteenth century presents several examples. He had at heart the material welfare of the people

and worked untiringly to promote it. But his rule was based on the maxim: All for the people, nothing through the people. He loved power and wealth intensely, but, unlike Louis XIV, despised its display and splendor. The revenues of the state were not wasted by an extravagant court or scattered among favorites. Hard, cynical, and entirely devoid of any religious or moral scruple, he unflinchingly pursued the one aim of his life, greater power for the Prussian state. The success which he attained enabled Prussia later on to assume the leadership of the German states in place of Austria.

CHAPTER XIV

AUSTRIA AND POLAND

AUSTRIA AND THE SOUTHEAST

167. Gradual Weakening of the Empire. — The Holy Roman Empire as a working unit practically ended with the Peace of Westphalia. The Hapsburgs, the hereditary rulers of Austria, still continued to be elected emperors, but outside their own lands they exercised very little authority. In fact the other states composing the Empire acted almost independently. This was notably the case with Prussia. The hereditary domains of the Hapsburgs, however, were quite considerable. Besides the duchies of Austria proper (on the Danube), of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tyrol, they included the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary (the latter much reduced by the encroachments of the Turks). Other smaller territories were scattered along the Rhine and elsewhere, and the Peace of Utrecht (§ 149) had brought the former Spanish Netherlands under the sway of the Austrian Hapsburgs. These dominions, large though they were, contained more than one element of weakness. No prince ever ruled over a greater medley of nations differing widely in language, customs, and traditions. Yet on the whole the bond of loyalty to a common ruler proved stronger than local conflicting interests, and prevented disruption by foreign enemies.

This subjection to one ruler was at first practically the only feature common to all the Hapsburg lands. Toward the end of Maria Theresa's reign (1740–1780), and especially under her successor Joseph II, attempts were made to bring about greater uniformity in law and administration. But the experiment proved for the most part a failure (§ 171).

The greatest merit of the Hapsburg monarchy, for which it deserves the everlasting gratitude of civilized mankind, was its heroic defense of Christendom against the Turk.

168. The Turkish Danger. — The story of the rise and westward expansion of the Ottoman Turks is part of medieval history. There we learned how the Byzantine Empire with its capital Constantinople and the Christian states of the Balkan peninsula fell, a prey to their merciless hordes. For a while the Hungarians formed the bulwark of Christendom, but during the religious upheaval in Charles V's time the Mohammedan armies swept over the plains of Hungary and subjected the greater part of that Christian state to the Crescent (§ 35). Thus matters remained until the middle of the seventeenth century, or until the reign of Louis XIV.

169. Europe Is Saved. — Shortly after Louis began his personal government (1661), the Turks made their last desperate efforts to enslave the West. Pope, princes, and peoples realized the common danger, and everywhere some of the old crusading spirit revived. It is to the everlasting disgrace of Louis XIV that he, who loved to pose as the leading Catholic monarch, turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the pope. He did worse. In his blind hatred against the Hapsburgs he constantly aided and abetted the cause of the Turks by intrigues, subsidies, and even formal treaties.

An election dispute in Transylvania furnished the Ottoman with a pretext to overrun all Hungary with fire and sword. But a brilliant victory of an imperial army at St. Gotthard (1664) gave the Christians some respite. Eighteen years later the war broke out anew. Tököly, an ambitious Hungarian noble and bitter Calvinist, strove to make himself ruler of Christian and Turkish Hungary, and invoked the help of the sultan. This time the Turks advanced to the very walls of Vienna and undertook a siege which lasted two months and reduced the heroic defenders to the point of starvation.

Help finally came. Pope Innocent XI had worked indefati-

gably to procure assistance for the hard-pressed emperor, Leopold I. Finally he effected an alliance between Leopold and the Polish king Sobieski, the most chivalrous character of that period. At the head of a Christian army of 80,000 Poles and Germans aroused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, Sobieski arrived on the heights overlooking the city of Vienna and the vast Turkish camp. On September 14, 1683, the decisive battle took place. The Turks were completely defeated and an enormous booty fell into the hands of the victors. From then on the Turk was on the defensive.

170. Austria Victorious over Turkey. — In the battle of *Mohács*, where a century and a half earlier the last native king of Hungary had lost battle and life, another Christian victory freed that much-harassed land forever from Turkish domination. In 1697 the command of the imperial armies was given to one of the greatest generals of modern history, Prince Eugene of Savoy. He soon became the idol of the Christian warriors and the terror of the Turks. In the same year he routed a Turkish army under the personal command of the sultan at Zenta. This led to the Peace of Karlowitz, which restored to the emperor all Hungary and Transylvania. Venice, Poland, and Russia likewise benefited by the discomfiture of the sultan. Eugene was then, as we have seen, employed in the War of the Spanish Succession (§ 149).

In 1714 new Turkish aggressions led to another brilliant campaign of Eugene, in which he wrested Belgrade, a gateway to the Hungarian plains, from the grasp of the sultan. He then pushed his conquests far into Serbia. After his death in 1736 the Mohammedans retook Belgrade, but Hungary remained free. Henceforth the chief foes of the Turk were Russia and the revived Balkan nationalities. The story of their successes will be told in a later chapter.

171. "Josephism." — In spite of a general attack on her lands, Maria Theresa lost only Silesia, for the patriotism of her subjects enabled her to keep her other dominions intact. She was

one of the noblest characters in the long line of Hapsburg rulers. Earnest and generous, she had always at heart the true welfare of her people. The teachings of religion were the mainsprings of her public and private life, and her court was the most virtuous in Europe. In the latter part of her reign, however, she was misled by her advisers to interfere unduly with the affairs of the Church.

This tendency became the keynote of the policy of her son and successor, Joseph II, and has, after him, received the name of "Josephism." As soon as the new emperor assumed the reins of government, he rushed headlong into a series of "reforms" in Church and State, which did great harm to both. He interfered with the free intercourse between the bishops and the Holy See, regulated ecclesiastical education in the seminaries, suppressed a large number of monasteries, because they "did not serve any practical purpose." He even legislated on the details of divine service, so that the old scoffer Frederick II derisively dubbed him "the brother sacristan."

In all these measures he was not moved by any opposition to religion as such, but by a desire to play the "benevolent despot" (§ 166). A ruler of this type considers himself alone competent to promote the welfare of the state. In political matters Joseph also tried to regulate everything and to interfere with established customs and privileges. This was extremely imprudent in a monarchy made up of so many different peoples. In Hungary and especially in the Austrian Netherlands it led to open rebellion. The latter country declared its independence and, practically, withdrew forever from the Hapsburg rule. Another unfortunate event falls partly in his reign, though he bears the smaller share in the guilt — the partition of Poland.

THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

172. Poland's Weakness. — In the eighteenth century Poland was the largest kingdom in Europe, with the exception of Russia. It covered an immense plain, extending from the

Baltic Sea to the Carpathian Mountains and from Silesia to the Dnieper. Yet, strange as it seems, this vast kingdom with its twelve million inhabitants fell an easy prey to its greedy neighbors. This demands some explanation.

The Poles were a warlike people. The absence of natural boundaries brought them into frequent conflict with their neighbors. The Teutonic Knights, to the north, succumbed after a long struggle with the Poles (§ 40), and in the south and east the Poles took their full share in the battles of Christendom against Mohammedanism. As elsewhere, these frequent wars produced a numerous nobility, devoted to war and living on war. Though poor, these nobles formed a proud exclusive caste that held the rest of the nation — largely peasants — in absolute subjection. In the eighteenth century the entire peasantry was still kept in serfdom and bound to the soil as tenants of the nobles. It is, therefore, not surprising that, at least in the beginning of Poland's downfall, the peasants showed little patriotism. For them, they thought, there was nothing to lose and everything to gain by a change of masters.

The form of government of Poland was the worst imaginable. The nobles did their utmost to restrict kingly power, at a time when foreign danger made a strong central government absolutely necessary. The kingship was not hereditary, but whenever a ruler died, the nobles assembled and chose a new one, usually a foreigner. These elections were tumultuous, and the neighboring powers often interfered, by threats or bribery, to secure the choice of a candidate favorable to their interests. The supreme power rested with the Diet, an assembly of the representatives of the nobility; but this Diet was, perhaps, the most inefficient law-making body ever convened. For no decree proposed could become law except by the unanimous consent of all the deputies. As a result, most of the Diets broke up without accomplishing anything.

173. Conquest of Poland. — The neighboring countries had long ago formed a plan to destroy Poland. After the death of

Peter the Great, the Russian throne was mostly held by women, the most noted of whom was Catherine II. This highly gifted, though incredibly profligate, woman had waged a successful war against Turkey, in which she extended her territory to the Black Sea and thus made Russia mistress of these waters. She next planned the annexation of the whole of Poland. But Frederick the Great, anxious to fill the gap between Prussia and the old Electorate of Brandenburg, managed to arrange with Catherine a partition treaty. Austria was at first reluctant to share in the robbery, but the fear that the "balance of power" might be disturbed by the annexations of the other two induced her to demand a portion of Polish territory. Accordingly, in 1772 Prussia annexed what



CATHERINE II OF RUSSIA

was formerly West Prussia; Russia and Austria each took districts which bordered on their own dominions. The weak king of Poland, a creature of Catherine, had to give his consent.

Poland at last saw the danger to her very existence. Sweeping reforms were introduced, the crown became hereditary, and a modernized parliament took the place of the old Diet. Nothing could be further from the wishes of Russia and Prussia.

Unfortunately, a number of discontented Polish nobles plotted with Catherine to overthrow the new government. They rose in arms, and Russian and Prussian forces came to their aid. The Polish patriots were led by Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who had served in America under Washington, but they succumbed to the overwhelming strength of their enemies, and a second partition, in 1793, reduced Poland to less than one half

its former size. Austria was this time put off with empty promises.

Kosciusko still retained hope of winning back the Polish lands. While he vainly tried to arouse the sympathy of the Western courts, a national insurrection was organized with the utmost



secrecy. It broke out in the spring of 1794. Trained soldiers and peasants armed with scythes from every part of old Poland flocked to the national standard. Kosciuszko performed wonders of valor, and for a long while held off the superior numbers of his foes. But at last the Poles had to give way, Warsaw, the capital, fell into the hands of the Russians, and the brave Kosciuszko was wounded and captured. The Polish king had to abdicate, and the remainder of the dismembered kingdom was

divided among Russia, Prussia, and Austria (1795). In the three partitions Russia received nearly twice the combined shares of Austria and Prussia, and at a later date she incorporated nearly the whole of old Poland. But the Poles never gave up their rightful demand for national independence. Repeatedly during the next century they made vain attempts to rebuild their country. At last, after the Great War, the great crime was undone by the restoration of an independent Poland.

PART IV: THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XV

ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

174. Meaning of the Revolution. — Germany in the sixteenth century gave the world a religious revolution, France at the end of the eighteenth century was to give it a political and social revolution. Both revolutions deserve the name more than any other upheaval in history. The English revolution of 1688 was, after all, nothing but a return of the nation to the old groove. The American revolution was merely a sudden leap forward in a direction in which the American people had long been progressing. But the religious revolt of Luther and his followers in other countries was a complete break with the past, and so was the French Revolution.

It overturned and swept away a society and institutions that were the growth of centuries. It introduced new views and a new spirit wholly at variance with the spirit of former ages. It was a spirit not merely of reform but of radical change. And just because it was radical, because it aimed at the very roots of traditional institutions, it wrought good and evil, real progress and unwarranted destruction. Moreover, though its beginnings and its most violent outbursts lay in France, it sent tremors and shocks through the whole body politic of Europe, and has continued to do so to the present day. But to understand its beginnings, we first have to study conditions in France on the eve of the Revolution.

THE FRENCH PEOPLE

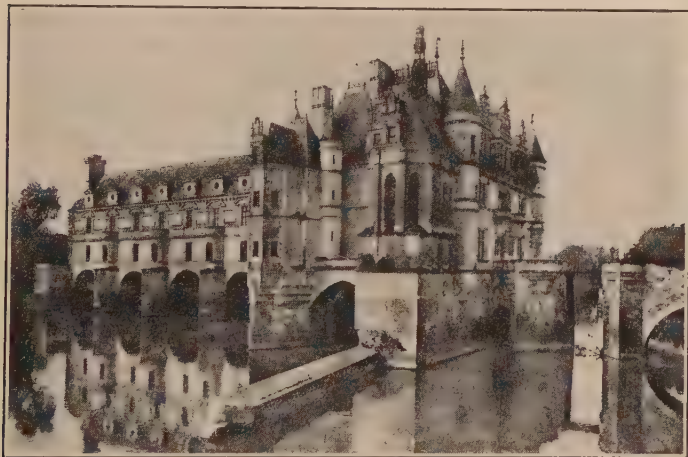
175. The population of France toward the end of the eighteenth century was about twenty-five millions. Tremendous changes had taken place from the time when France sent forth her heroic crusaders and when the troubadours wandered from castle to castle and delighted with their songs the hearts of noble knights and fair ladies. Commerce had grown enormously, towns and cities had sprung up that contained a large and important part of the population, the feudal nobles had lost their independence. Nevertheless, if we were suddenly transferred into French society of the eighteenth century, we should everywhere come across many relics of the feudal system. We should be struck, above all, with the sharp division of the people into two classes. One section of the population, about a quarter of a million, constituted the privileged classes, the other, the mass of the common people. A brief sketch of these classes is necessary, if we are to understand the working of the revolution.

176. **The Privileged Classes — the Nobility.** — The nobles, partly descendants of the old feudal lords, partly such as had bought a title — which was rather easy — had under Richelieu and Louis XIV been deprived of their territorial rights (§§ 77 and 144). Yet this by no means put them back among the common people. They still formed a separate class, without, however, rendering any important service to the nation. Instead of becoming leaders in commerce or intellectual endeavors, they craved only a brilliant position at the court of Versailles. Hundreds flocked thither and strove to outdo one another in display of splendor and pomp.

Arthur Young, an English gentleman who traveled extensively in France just before the Revolution, said about these nobles: "Exile alone forces French nobles to do what an English noble does by preference, to reside upon his private estate and to improve it."

The centering of the entire political and social life of the state

at Versailles caused the nobles to lose touch with their estates. When a family, after a long stay at the court, returned to its ancestral mansion, it did so merely to replenish its purse at the expense of the tenants. A false class spirit kept them from engaging in humbler yet more lucrative pursuits or even from retrieving their fortunes by a marriage outside their class. They did not attempt a political career because the concentra-



CHÂTEAU CHENONCEAUX

This is a typical residence of a French nobleman of the Old Régime.

tion of all power in the hands of the king made any independent political activity impossible. The old legislative assemblies too had nearly disappeared. To accept positions of command in the army or to enter the charmed circle of the court they considered alone worthy of their dignity. These places, however, were open not to all, but only to the higher nobility which could trace back its noble descent for several generations.

177. The Clergy. — The French clergy before the Revolution formed a powerful body, in numbers as well as in wealth. The annual revenue of the Church from tithes, rents, and other sources reached nearly thirty-four million dollars. The tithes,

that is, a tax on landed estates for the support of religion, were usually levied with great moderation. The tenants on church lands fared better than their fellows on the estates of the nobles. It was, however, offensive to the people that the clergy was largely exempted from taxation, and that the tithes, instead of going to their own poor parish priests, went almost entirely to distant prelates or other members of the higher clergy.

This higher clergy, that is, chiefly bishops and abbots, was to a great extent under the control of the king, who nominated the candidates to the higher positions in the Church and almost always chose them from the nobility. The lower clergy, on the other hand, was recruited from the peasantry and the townspeople. The large revenue of the Church was very unequally distributed, so that the income of the higher clergy sometimes amounted to princely sums while the parish priests and their assistants lived, for the most part, in extreme poverty. These differences in wealth and social rank were a source of many abuses and created much ill feeling between the two clerical classes. As a body, the higher clergy was not unworthy of its sacred office, though it could hardly boast of any members eminent for learning or holiness. The parish priests were, with a few exceptions, men of irreproachable lives, devoted to their duties, and in sympathy with the common people.

178. The Third Estate, the Bourgeoisie. — For centuries the French had used the term “Third Estate” to designate the vast bulk of the nation that did not belong to the privileged classes, the first and second estates, that is, the clergy and nobility. This Third Estate included two sections, differing very much in wealth and education from each other, the middle class and the peasantry. The middle class, called “*bourgeoisie*” (from *bourg* or town), may be compared to our city people. They were the manufacturers, merchants, physicians, lawyers, and civil officials of the country. In general, they enjoyed a fair amount of prosperity. Many of them had received a good secular education and were ardent students of the literature of the day.

The leaders of the Revolution came chiefly from this class. At the outset, they professed great sympathy for the peasants. They entertained a deep-rooted dislike for the privileged classes, partly because they were debarred from their society in spite of wealth and industry, partly because they had in many cases themselves recently sprung from peasant stock, and partly because, in common with the peasants, they had to bear the chief burden of taxation. The tradespeople had a grievance of their own against the old guild system, that still existed but had failed to adapt itself to changed conditions (§ 10). In its condition at that time, it hampered the progressive tradesman on every side. A "cobbler" who mended shoes could not make new ones. A baker could make bread, but not cakes, and so forth.

179. The Condition of the Peasants. — In spite of the growth of commerce and manufactures, the vast majority of the French people — perhaps twenty out of twenty-five millions — were still employed in tilling the soil. In the eighteenth century serfdom had practically disappeared, that is, the peasants were personally free to leave the land and seek profitable employment elsewhere. Yet this was of little real advantage to the farmer, for oppressive taxation and lack of education made it well-nigh impossible to get the necessary capital for any other enterprise. Leaving aside the hired laborers, who had no particular grievance, the peasants were either tenants or small proprietors. The latter fared little better than the former, for, as a rule, they had not bought their holdings for a round sum, but for perpetual rent-charges and for services. These services proved more and more irksome as the advantages of the feudal system disappeared. The farmer could not sell his land without paying for his lord's consent, nor sell his crop except in the lord's market. Commonly he still was obliged to have his corn ground in the lord's mill, leaving part of the flour as payment. Wild game of all sorts was protected for the lord's hunting. For broken fences and crops trampled in the chase the peasant had no re-

dress; and under no circumstances was he permitted to carry a gun to shoot the wild game that devoured his crops. These conditions explain, in part, the hatred against the nobles that burst forth in the very beginning of the Revolution (§ 206).

There were, however, provinces where noble and peasant lived on very friendly terms, especially in cases where the lord resided on his estate instead of seeking the splendor and pleasures of the court. In general, the evils which weighed most heavily on the peasantry came not from the nobles but from the defective administration of the central government. No government ever did more to discourage the peasants than the French government before the Revolution. Many evils could easily have been remedied, if more farsighted statesmen had watched over the real interests of France. As it was, farming became so unprofitable and famines were so frequent in the rural districts that about one fourth of the soil lay waste.

GOVERNMENT AND TAXATION

180. Loss of Prestige. — Mainly by his own personal gifts and the aid of clever ministers, Louis XIV had succeeded in asserting almost unlimited royal power and in uniting in his own hand the functions hitherto shared by various local and provincial governing bodies. This system might have been maintained for a long time, had the successors of Louis XIV possessed some of his ability and foresight.

Louis XV, however (1715–1774), though holding the same exalted ideas of royal power, was a man of weak and openly immoral character, utterly incapable of retaining the respect and loyalty of the French people. The management of affairs passed into the hands of favorites, whose conduct of foreign policy brought disgrace and heavy losses in the Silesian and Seven Years' War. The arbitrary rule, barely tolerated in times of national greatness and prosperity, was now resented by the middle class and the peasantry.

Louis XVI (1774–1792), a man of sincere motives and of irre-

proachable morals, was too dull and too weak and vacillating to stem the rising tide of discontent.

181. The Method of Government. — The manner in which the government was administered made popular control absolutely impossible. The king ruled through a royal council of about forty members, appointed by himself and intrusted with the entire administration of the kingdom. Their representatives in the provinces were the intendants, who revised or rejected the decrees of local authorities and were responsible to the king alone. Yet, in spite of this centralization, the government was far from efficient.

France was gradually formed, as we have seen, out of a variety of provinces which were one by one added to the royal domain, by bargain, conquest, and marriage. Originally each of these provinces possessed its own legislative assembly, the provincial estates, but many of these bodies had in the course of time ceased to exist and their functions had been taken over by the crown. On the other hand, the local customs and laws remained in force, giving rise to endless confusion. A man moving from the south to the north, or even from one town to another, might find himself entangled in a wholly unfamiliar legal system. Neither was France a single state commercially. The principal custom duties upon goods were not collected at the boundary as they entered France from abroad, but on various custom lines within the country. Thus Paris was cut off from the rest of France as from a foreign country. If, for instance, a merchant of Languedoc sent a boatload of wine to Paris, he had to pay some forty tolls.

182. The administration of justice was almost entirely in the hands of royal courts. True, the feudal and communal courts still existed, but they had little power except to vex the poor peasants by their capricious decisions. The principal royal courts, called *parlements*, were thirteen in number, of which the *Parlement of Paris* was the oldest and most influential. In fact, it claimed to be something more than a judicial tribunal.

It enjoyed the right to register royal decrees and, by refusing to do this, it sometimes tried to curb the monarch's will. But frequently enough its claims were resisted and its decisions put aside by the royal council. Criticism of the government was a rather difficult, and sometimes dangerous, undertaking. Secrecy enveloped the business of the state so that few if any had real insight into the conduct of the government. Even the frightful condition of the finances was almost unknown until shortly before the Revolution.

183. The arbitrary and capricious temper of the administration added greatly to the rising discontent. While elsewhere the letter of the law, however imperfect, was usually held sacred, in France the good pleasure of the king overrode all legal restrictions. The French kings of the eighteenth century did not understand the value of fixed principles or the danger of exceptions. Orders, decrees, and counter orders followed one another in bewildering succession.

"The government seldom undertakes, or soon abandons, the most necessary reforms. . . . It incessantly changes particular regulations or particular laws. In the sphere in which it acts nothing remains an instant in repose. New rules succeed each other with a rapidity so strange that the agents of the state, because of being commanded so often, have trouble in making out how they are to obey. . . . People often complain that Frenchmen despise the law. Alas! When could they have learned to respect it?" (De Tocqueville)

The notorious *lettres de cachet* (letters of the seal) afforded another instance of the arbitrary character of the government. They were simply orders for the arrest and imprisonment of some one who had incurred the royal displeasure. Without trial or formality of any sort a person might be cast into a dungeon for an indefinite period, until the king happened to remember him or was reminded of him by the poor man's friends. It was easy for any man who had influence at court to obtain such a letter and thus conveniently dispose of an enemy. It is true that under Louis XVI the letters were issued less frequently

than in the previous reigns, but nevertheless they show the despotic temper of the French government, which thought far too much of enforcing submission and far too little of the rights of its citizens.

184. The immediate cause of the Revolution was the bankruptcy of the government. Since the court was utterly selfish and felt no responsibility to the nation, it spent money wastefully and wickedly. We saw how Louis XIV left France burdened with a huge debt (§ 150). His successor, the profligate Louis XV, added to it by his participation in a number of wars, but, above all, by the shameless corruption of his administration. The maintenance of the court at Versailles swallowed enormous sums. Large amounts went to favorites in the form of pensions or salaries for imaginary services. No account or estimate of expenses was kept, no statements published. The government lived from hand to mouth, and frequently the income of the following year had already been anticipated. Louis XVI, though personally not extravagant, did not succeed in reducing the expenses of the administration, and the court went on living as luxuriously as ever. In the last year before the Revolution the public debt had grown to such proportions that over one half of the annual receipts were needed to pay the interest, and new debts had to be contracted to meet the ordinary expenses.

185. Method of Taxation. — In spite of the wasteful methods of the government a country as rich as France could have easily borne the burden of taxation, had the taxes been fairly distributed among the various classes of the people. Instead, the privileged classes were almost exempt from taxation. The clergy, however, every fifth or sixth year voted a contribution to the crown in the form of a "gratuitous gift," besides giving special aid on extraordinary occasions, such as wars. The nobility either was exempt or bought exemption by bribery or other illegal means. The richest man in France, the Duke of Orleans, stated his case frankly when he said, "I make arrangements with the tax officials, and I pay only what I wish." Often the wealthier

members of the bourgeoisie escaped taxation by similar methods. Thus the burden fell on those least able to pay, and various clumsy devices made the collection of taxes needlessly annoying.

The chief tax had once been a land tax. Now it was assessed only on the peasant villages, and that in the most arbitrary fashion. Government officials fixed the amount each year, often making the slightest signs of increasing thrift and comfort a pretext for raising the tax. As a consequence, the peasants jealously concealed what little comfort they had and left their cottages in ruins. This direct tax, together with feudal dues, church tithes, and other items raised the amount to be paid by the farmer to nearly four fifths of his income. From the remainder he had to support his family and defray the cost of necessary articles, made higher by various indirect taxes.

The most hated of these indirect taxes was the *gabelle*, or salt tax. No salt could be bought except from the government, and the law fixed the price and the amount to be purchased by every family. There would have been nothing very remarkable in this, if the price of salt had been everywhere the same. But as it was, the people in one town might be forced to pay thirty times as much as their neighbors in an adjacent town. To quote a single example: In the city of Dijon in eastern France a certain amount of salt cost seven francs, a few miles to the east one had to pay twenty-seven francs, to the south twenty-eight francs, while still farther, in Gex, there was no tax whatever. Of course, the trade of the smuggler flourished, thousands of officials and troops had to be employed to suppress smuggling, and the cost of collecting the *gabelle* swallowed nearly one third of its proceeds.

186. Other heavy burdens that discouraged the peasantry and the lower classes were the tolls mentioned before, and the *corvées*, a sort of labor tax which compelled the peasant to leave his own work, no matter how critical the harvest time, at the call of an official and toil without pay on roads and other public works.

There were certainly plenty of abuses, but a revolution requires more. It requires *active discontent* and an actual plan for a different order of things. Moreover, we should not compare the condition of the French people of the eighteenth century with that of the farmer or tradesman of the present day but rather with that of other farmers of the time. Wretched as it seems to us, it was no worse than the lot of the peasantry in many other lands, in Poland, parts of Germany, and elsewhere.

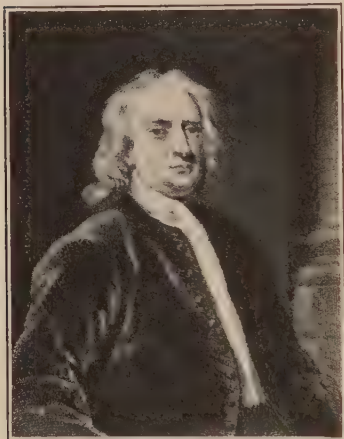
Why, then, did France in particular become the scene of a revolution? Why, above all, did the Revolution not stop at reforming abuses, but break completely with the past and bring about a state of unrest in all Europe, which state is the chief characteristic of the nineteenth century? To understand this side of the Revolution, we have to know something of the ideas and the literature that swayed the minds of the French people on the eve of the great upheaval.

THE IDEAS BEHIND THE REVOLUTION

187. Progress of the Natural Sciences. — The sixteenth century was distinguished not only by the wonderful works of its artists and the bold adventures of its explorers but by the fresh impulse it gave to scientific studies. Though the Middle Ages by no means neglected science but gave us several practical inventions, such as the compass and gunpowder, we owe to the sixteenth century that systematic study of natural laws and nature's secrets that so characterizes modern intellectual activity.

The great Copernicus (1473–1543) upset the accepted notions of our universe by showing that our earth is not the center around which the heavenly bodies revolve but only one of several planets circling around the sun. The astronomer Kepler (1571–1630) improved the “Copernican System” by demonstrating that the path of the planets around the sun is not perfectly circular but elliptical. Galileo (1564–1642) perfected the telescope and thereby enabled astronomers to discover innumerable stars

invisible to the naked eye and to observe more accurately those already known. He did even greater work in physics than in astronomy. He was the first to prove that the speed of falling bodies at any given moment depends not on their weight but on the distance they have traversed. From this he derived certain rules by which we still calculate the distance a projectile



SIR ISAAC NEWTON

will travel from its speed and the angle at which it started on its flight.

Still these men were pioneers, and more general enthusiasm for science did not begin until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Probably the most illustrious of the great scientists of this period was the Englishman Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727). Besides being an eminent mathematician he achieved lasting success in astronomy. He was the first to teach us why the planets move

in their well-defined orbits around the sun. When left to themselves they would go off into space in a straight line, but the same invisible force that attracts falling bodies to the earth is active in the universe and diverts the planets from their straight path and makes them revolve around the sun. Newton's law shows how this force is directly proportional to the mass of the attracted bodies and inversely proportional to their distance from each other. The German scholar Leibniz (1646-1716) was an almost universal genius but is chiefly known for developing a new branch of mathematics, differential calculus, without which our modern engineers could not get along. The foundations of electrical science were laid by our own Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) and the two Italians Luigi

Galvani (1737-1798) and Alessandro Volta (1745-1827). The French scientist Lavoisier (1745-1794) and the Anglo-American Priestley (1733-1804) were the fathers of modern chemistry. Other contemporary students of nature gave us the beginnings of the sciences of physiology and botany, and added greatly to medical science, especially in discovering better methods of preventing disease.

Men of science became very popular in the eighteenth century. Kings, ministers, and wealthy men vied with one another in encouraging and supporting these delvers into the mysteries of nature. Popular books professed to spread the results of their researches among the educated; the new encyclopedias gathered together the data of various sciences. Among the wealthy middle class it became fashionable to dabble in science and to astonish one's friends with half-digested scientific information gathered from the writings of second-rate scientists.

The success of the great scientists dazzled their host of small followers so completely that they dreamt of the dawn of a golden age. What brought about the great discoveries in science? They answered: Breaking away from the traditional teaching of ancient and medieval thinkers and boldly setting to unravel the mysteries of nature by independent thought and research. Might not the same method be applied to other subjects, to religion and the Church, to governmental and social problems, and produce equally great changes? Have we not blindly accepted too many beliefs and rules of conduct from the past, they asked, and will not the rejection of these irksome restrictions on our mind pave the way for an earthly paradise?

The so-called reformers of the sixteenth century had prepared minds for such thoughts. By rejecting the authority of the Church they left it to each individual to select his own religion from the Bible. But why should the Bible be accepted as God's word if we know its divine origin only through the teaching of the Church? Hence many writers of the period of which we are speaking drew the last logical conclusion from the doctrine of

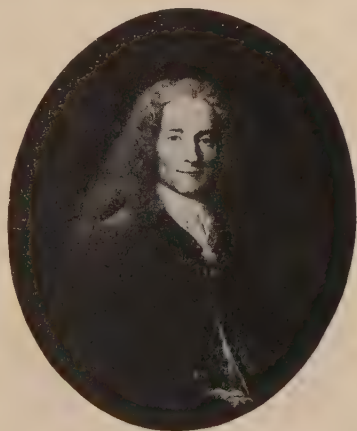
the Reformers and denied the existence of a divine revelation in the Bible or anywhere else, for that matter. It should, however, not be forgotten that none of the great scientists of whom we have spoken proposed such radical views. That was the work of a host of smaller minds, more distinguished by brilliancy of language than by depth of thought.

188. "The Philosophers." — French writers of the eighteenth century stood out above all others in their attacks upon traditional beliefs and established order. But their ideas were, to a great extent, imported from England, where since the days of Oliver Cromwell it had become the fashion to denounce not only the old Church abolished by Henry VIII but all religions claiming to possess a divine revelation. Many English writers rejected the Bible which contained that revelation and, in general, denied that God had ever spoken to mankind or manifested Himself to us through Jesus Christ. Reason alone, they asserted, is sufficient to guide man in his relations with his Maker and to work out man's happiness here and hereafter. Hence they called themselves "rationalists" (ratio — reason), or "freethinkers," because they professed to be free from any belief in their search after truth. Some went further and denied the very existence of God. Others proclaimed their freedom not only from the teaching of any divine authority but also from the moral laws of Christianity. About the middle of the eighteenth century a reaction set in against these destructive tendencies, and the freethinkers retired into the secrecy of Masonic lodges. By means of these lodges their views were spread rapidly over the continent, in Protestant and Catholic countries.

Conditions in France were especially favorable to the growth of such ideas. English freethinkers like *Bolingbroke*, *John Locke*, and others were eagerly read in Paris, and a considerable number of French writers traveled and studied in England. Soon a veritable flood of books and pamphlets rose in France, in which the Catholic Church and its doctrines were abused and held responsible for all the evils of the age. Others directed their

attacks against the social and political order and may be considered the forerunners of the modern socialists (§ 328). "Philosophy" was the high-sounding title which these French freethinkers and infidels gave to their attacks upon throne and altar.

189. The Influence of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. — The leader of these "philosophers" was *Voltaire* (1694–1778), a brilliant and prolific, but extremely superficial, writer. Having spent three years in England, where he became acquainted with the political institutions and the anti-Christian writers of that country, he returned to France and devoted a long life to the destruction of the teachings of Christianity. His ready wit and bitter sarcasm and his quick perception of the weak points of his adversaries won him a large circle of readers among the bourgeoisie and the dissolute nobility.



VOLTAIRE

Round Voltaire were grouped a band of clever supporters, men like *Diderot* and *d'Alembert*, pledged to assist him in his work of destruction. These men decided to publish an *encyclopedia* in which religious subjects were to be treated with an outward show of reverence, while the true opinion of the writer was indicated by adding a reference to some article on a scientific subject in which the principles of Christianity were attacked. By this method the writers were able to undermine the very foundations of religion without rudely shocking their readers and without incurring the penalties of the law against the publication of open attacks on religion. The work had a remarkable success, especially since the clergy, instead of fighting them on their own

grounds, relied rather on royal prohibitions and suppressions. These men were hailed as leaders in progress and enlightenment. Yet when it came to real reform, bettering the condition of the oppressed and poor, they had little to say.

"Ecrasez l'infâme," "crush the infamous thing," that is, the Church, was the battle cry of Voltaire. Yet the fear of hell and the hope of heavenly reward were to be left to the poor so as to keep them in humble submission to their hard lot. Equality of men, according to Voltaire, was the greatest nonsense.



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JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

The private lives of these "philosophers" showed plainly enough what they meant by following only the dictates of reason. On Voltaire a contemporary French poet gave the verdict: "More of a wit than a genius, without faith, honor, and virtue, he died as he lived, covered with fame and infamy."

190. Rousseau. — Voltaire and his followers expected the realization of their ideas from some "benevolent despot," but

another writer of that time attacked the existing governments. This man was *Jean Jacques Rousseau* (1712–1778), a native of Geneva who, after a restless life in many lands in which he disgraced himself everywhere by his immoral conduct, finally settled down in Paris. He realized better than any one else the dull discontent of the masses, their longing for a change, and he gave them clear and forceful expression. His works are numerous, but the best known among them, and one that has often been called the textbook of the Revolution, is a short treatise on government, entitled *The Social Contract*.

He begins by asking: "Why is it that man, who is born free,

is now everywhere enslaved? ” The answer he gives implies that all existing governments are illegitimate; that there is only one legal government, the will of the majority. According to Rousseau, the state is a society formed by free mutual agreement. In this society the people are the rulers, and merely delegate some of the power to an individual or a body of officials. But if they are not satisfied with these officials, they have the right to remove them at any time. These were ideas that appealed to the discontented masses. Before long his works were in the hands of everybody, and his theories formed the subject of universal discussion. The natural rights of the people, and their social equality, were doctrines certain to be passionately believed by the masses. Unfortunately, the excited public overlooked many of his warnings, an oversight which, after his death, led to frightful consequences.

191. Why were these irreligious ideas of the Philosophers so eagerly accepted in Catholic France? The answer is, because religious life in the eighteenth century was at a very low ebb. It need not surprise us that the higher clergy, generally chosen from the nobility and by the crown rather than by the pope, was not overzealous in discharging its sacred duties, but more bent upon maintaining its privileged position and enjoying its rich incomes. The lower clergy was poor and ill instructed, and for that reason possessed little influence with the educated classes.

An even greater danger came from Gallicanism, a movement that had become strong in the days of Louis XIV and to which even the great Bossuet had lent the prestige of his name. It defended certain doctrines widely spread in the Gallican (French) church, which tended toward weakening the bond of union between the Holy See and the French clergy. Thus the decrees of the pope on matters of faith and morals were to have force only if supported by the whole Church. At the same time the Gallicans were noted for their excessive servility toward the crown, even in questions touching the administration of ecclesiastical affairs.

A third element that weakened the religious spirit, in both this and the previous century, was the long and heated controversies regarding points of Catholic doctrine and practice, especially the nature of divine grace and the frequent reception of the sacraments. These differences had divided the French clergy into two hostile camps and exposed it to the ridicule of its enemies.

A fourth factor was the blow that Catholic education received by the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Philosophers and intriguers at the corrupted court of Versailles had worked hard to bring about the fall of the order, and in 1764 their efforts succeeded. About 4000 of these excellent educators had to close their institutions and leave the soil of France. Not content with this, the freethinkers, working chiefly through the Masonic lodges, induced other governments to demand from the Holy See the entire suppression of the Society of Jesus. In this effort too they succeeded. By threats of schism they overcame the reluctance of Pope Clement XIV, and in 1773 the order was suppressed.¹

192. The result of this agitation against the Church was a frightful relaxation of morality. The court set the example of shameless vice, and was imitated by all classes, nobles and bourgeois. It is plain that true reform, which would have implied sacrifices, could not come from such contaminated sources. There were, indeed, many who dimly saw the necessity of reform, and higher society frequently laughed at its own pretensions or indulged in sentimental dreams of universal love and brotherhood. It loudly applauded the victories of true democracy in America, of which Lafayette brought glowing accounts. But upon the whole, the privileged classes lacked insight and energy for any serious attempt at change that might involve the

¹ In Russia, where Catherine II forbade the publication of the decree of suppression, the order continued to exist. After some years it was revived, with special papal permission, in several other countries, and in 1814 Pius VII restored it for the whole Church.

surrender of their privileges. Meantime the financial situation of the government became so desperate that something had to be done to avert a catastrophe.

ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

193. The French Court on the Eve of the Revolution. — Strangely enough, one of the few that had sincerely at heart the welfare of the nation was King Louis XVI (§ 180). However, his weakness and indecision were almost as harmful as his predecessor's wickedness. He abandoned the wisest measures and the best ministers rather than face the sour looks of his courtiers or the pouts of the queen. The latter, *Marie Antoinette*, a daughter of the great Maria Theresa, was far more energetic than her husband, but, being a foreigner and an Austrian, she was unpopular and unable to understand the character of the French people. She had great influence with the king, and some of his most imprudent measures were due to her advice.



MARIE ANTOINETTE

194. Financial Reforms of Turgot. — When Louis came to the throne the national debt amounted to some five hundred million dollars, a fabulous sum for those days, and it was increased each year by ten millions more. The king began well by appointing Turgot as minister of finance, an able but somewhat tactless administrator. The new minister abolished the forced labor, the old guilds, and some of the interior custom lines. He also cut down the frivolous expenses of the court and curtailed remorselessly the long pension lists. Then he planned

more far-reaching reforms — to recast the whole system of taxation, to equalize the burdens, and to introduce a scheme of public education. “A whole pacific French Revolution was in that head,” says Carlyle.

But the courtiers gave black looks, the queen hated the reformer who interfered with her pleasures, and so Louis grew cold and dismissed the man who might have saved France from a revolution of violence (1776). In one of his last letters Turgot warned the king prophetically: “It was weakness, Sire, which laid the head of Charles I on the block.”

195. Necker. — Nearly all of Turgot’s reforms were swiftly undone, and before the year was out Louis called another reformer. Necker was not a statesman like his predecessor, but he had considerable experience in financial matters and might have done something for the treasury if his difficulties had not been much increased by the French loans to the American colonies in their War of Independence. Bonds were issued to raise the necessary sums, but the annual interest had to be paid, and Necker had to get more money. In his predicament he laid before the king a plan for sweeping reforms, much along Turgot’s lines.

Again the courtiers grumbled, and the minister was dismissed (1781). However, shortly before his retirement he published, for the first time, a detailed statement of the financial condition of the government. Although he did not dare to tell the full truth, he opened the eyes of the public to the appalling state of affairs. The effect, of course, was to add to the ever growing discontent.

196. Calonne. — After Necker’s dismissal the old abuses were again restored. Then the new minister of finance, the courtly Calonne, adopted the policy of the unscrupulous bankrupt, and tried to create credit by lavish extravagance. For a time he succeeded, but in 1786 the treasury was running behind to the amount of twenty-five million dollars a year!

Even the clever Calonne was at his wit’s end. He advised the king to call the “Notables of France.” The Notables were

such leading members of the three estates (§ 178) as the king would summon to receive their counsel. This time the Third Estate was poorly represented ; most of the members were nobles or clergy. To the amazed gathering Calonne suggested that the privileged classes give up their exemption from taxation. All cried out against him — the few progressives for what he had done in the past, the many conservatives for what he now proposed to do.

197. Calonne's successor could only recommend the former's plan. It was necessary to get more money, and obviously that could be had only by taxing those who had something wherewith to pay.

As the assembly of the Notables was still stubborn, the king dismissed them and tried to force the plan upon the nobles by royal edict. Such an edict, to have legal force, had to be registered by the Parlement of Paris (§ 182). Many of the members of that body were of the privileged orders, and so it refused, under the excuse that the only power in France which could properly impose new taxes was the *Estates General*. The king banished the parlement, but it had unwittingly given a rallying cry to the nation.

198. The Last Resort. — The Estates General had not met since 1614. Suggestions for assembling them had been made from time to time, ever since Louis XVI became king. Now, after the action of the Parlement of Paris, the demand became universal and imperious. Finally, August 8, 1788, the king yielded. He recalled Necker and promised that the Estates General should be convoked.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FIRST STAGE: THE REVOLUTION IN TIME OF PEACE

THE ASSEMBLY AT VERSAILLES, 1789

199. The Calling of the Estates General. — In electing the Estates General, the country was divided into districts. The nobility and the clergy of each district came together in general assembly to choose delegates. The delegates of the Third Estate were elected indirectly by "electoral colleges." In choosing the members of these colleges, all taxpayers had votes.

When finally chosen, the Estates General consisted of about 600 members of the Third Estate, 300 nobles, and 300 clergy. About two thirds of the deputies of the clergy were village priests, generally ill disposed towards the higher clergy and in sympathy with the Third Estate. Among the members of the Third Estate there were also a few priests and about fifteen nobles. Of the former *Sieyès* was to achieve distinction, and among the latter the dissolute but highly gifted Count of *Mirabeau* easily held the first place.

On the whole, the members of the Third Estate were men of culture but steeped in the fashionable "philosophy" of Rousseau and Voltaire. Country lawyers and town politicians formed the vast majority of the Third Estate and hence of the assembly as a whole. Says Edmund Burke: "The general composition (of the assembly) was of obscure provincial advocates, of stewards of petty local jurisdiction, country attorneys, and the whole train of the ministers of municipal litigation, the fomentors and conductors of the petty village war of village vexation. From the moment I read the list I saw distinctly, and very nearly as it happened, all that was to follow."

200. The Estates General Become the National Assembly.

— On May 5, 1789, the king solemnly opened the Estates General at Versailles. There was an enthusiastic outburst of loyalty. The royal address suggested some reforms, but it was plain that the king hoped mainly for more taxes, and those who had expected radical reforms were sadly disappointed. Even Necker's two-hour address, which followed the king's, dwelt only upon the need for prompt action to relieve the government's financial straits.

Unfortunately, the ministers had completely neglected to prepare so important an assembly and to settle certain technical points of procedure in advance. Hence confusion followed immediately. The first dispute arose over the manner of organizing the Estates General. The nobles and the clergy were for sitting and voting as separate chambers, after the ancient fashion. This would have given the privileged orders two votes to one for the Third Estate, and would have blocked every reform; for a measure to become law had to pass all three chambers. For this reason the Third Estate insisted that all three orders should organize as one chamber. Under this organization its members, supported by friends of the people in the First and Second Estates, could outvote the other two combined. Over this question there followed a deadlock for five weeks.

The delay finally became serious. The preceding harvest had been a failure, and famine threatened in the land. In Paris every bakeshop had its "tail" of men and women, standing through the night for a chance to buy bread. Such conditions called for speedy action, especially as the ignorant masses had got it into their heads that the Estates General would in some way make food plenty.

Finally on motion of Sieyès (June 17), the Third Estate declared that by itself it represented ninety-six per cent of the nation, and that, with or without the other Estates, it would organize as a *National Assembly*. At the same time it invited the other two to join the Third Estate. The die was now cast.

The Revolution had begun. For this decree swept away the time-honored distinction between the three classes, declared one estate the sole representative of the nation, precisely because it represented the bulk of the nation, and all this was done without the sanction of the king. Nothing of this kind had ever been seen before on the continent.

201. The Tennis Court Oath. — Two days after the Third Estate declared itself the National Assembly, it was joined by half the clergy, mainly parish priests, and by a few liberal nobles. But the next morning (June 20) the Assembly found sentries at the doors of their hall, and carpenters within putting up staging for a "royal session." Plainly the king was about to interfere. The gathering adjourned to a great building near by, used as a tennis court, and there unanimously took an oath never to separate until they had established the constitution on a firm basis.

The idea of a written constitution came from America. Six years earlier Franklin, our ambassador to France, had published French translations of the constitutions adopted by the new American states. The pamphlet had been widely read and much talked about. Two years before the American Constitution had been drafted, and at this very time the new government which it had organized was holding its first sessions. It was a fateful year for democracy.

The instructions ¹ of delegates to the Assembly had commonly called for a constitution, and to make one became now the chief purpose of the Assembly. In fact, that body soon became known as the *Constituent Assembly*.

202. King and Assembly Clash. — The first clash between Louis and the Assembly came on June 23 when Louis summoned

¹ Nearly every gathering for choosing delegates to the Assembly had drawn up a statement of grievances and had suggested reforms for the guidance of its representatives. These *cahiers* (kā'yā') are the most valuable source of our knowledge of France before the Revolution. See *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 5, for examples.

the three estates to meet him. He told them that they were to organize as three separate bodies and to carry out certain specified reforms. If they failed to comply with the royal wishes, the king himself would "secure the happiness of his people." After this momentary display of authority he bade them disperse.

As the king left the hall, the nobles and the higher clergy followed. The new National Assembly kept their seats. There was a moment of uncertainty. Flatly to refuse obedience to a definite royal command was unheard of. Then Mirabeau (§ 199) rose to remind the delegates of their oath. The royal master of ceremonies, reëntering, asked haughtily if they had not heard the king's command to disperse. "Yes," broke in Mirabeau's thunder; "but go and tell your master that we are here by the power of the people, and that nothing but the power of bayonets shall drive us away." Then, on Mirabeau's motion, the Assembly decreed the inviolability of its members: "Infamous and guilty of capital crime is any person or court that shall dare pursue or arrest any of them, on whose part soever the same be commanded."

The king's weakness prevented conflict, and perhaps it was as well; for Paris was rising, and the French Guards, royal regiments intrusted with guarding the capital and the court at Versailles, refused to fire on the mob. On June 24 forty-seven nobles joined the Assembly, and in less than a week the king bowed to the Assembly and ordered the rest to join.

203. The Attitude of Paris. — The excitement in Paris was growing intense. Then, as always, the capital was the center of political life. The failure of the harvest had produced great calamity in the provinces and filled the land with beggars and vagabonds. In Paris relief work had been set on foot by the authorities, and this attracted thousands of the idle and restless element. The wealthier classes, too, put their hope in upheaval, as they despaired of the ability of the government to pay its debts. Clubs were formed and numberless meetings were held. In many an obscure gathering language was used and

methods were suggested which no deputy would have ventured at Versailles.

The Palais Royal, the residence of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orléans and a distant relative of the king, was a hotbed of seditious intrigue. The duke had conceived the project of supplanting Louis on the throne and based his hopes on a revolution. Hence he made his palace, a magnificent building with vast halls and gardens, the meeting place of all the most reckless politicians who were swarming to Paris. There the most radical clubs held their meetings, the most inflammatory speeches were delivered. In addition all the attractions of carousing and gambling and loose living were added, and so the orators never wanted an audience. The duke and his helpers had already succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the French Guards.

204. The Parisians Arm. — The king, frightened by the daily growing menace of the mob, had gathered troops from the nearby provinces, largely German and Swiss mercenaries. The rumor was spread that this meant an attack upon the Assembly. On July 9 Mirabeau declared this to be the object of the king and, on his motion, the Assembly requested Louis to withdraw the troops. The king, instead, dismissed Necker, the idol of the people, who, however, because of his vacillating policy deserves little credit as a statesman. This was on the evening of July 11.

About noon the next day the news was whispered in the streets. *Camille Desmoulins*, a young journalist and a regular guest at the Palais Royal, leaped upon a table in the gardens adjoining this meeting place of agitators and harangued the crowd: "Necker is dismissed. It is a signal for a massacre of the patriots. To arms! To arms!"

By night the streets bristled with barricades against a possible attack of the king's cavalry, and the crowds were sacking bakeshops for bread and gunshops for arms. Three regiments of the French Guards joined the rebels. The rest of the troops did practically nothing, and anarchy reigned in the capital.

Some rude organization was introduced next day; new civic guards were formed by temporary city authorities. On the following day, July 14, the revolutionary forces attacked the Bastille.

205. The Taking of the Bastille. — The Bastille was a large state prison, like the Tower in London. In it had been confined



SIEGE OF THE BASTILLE, JULY 14, 1789

political offenders and victims of the “sealed letters” (§ 183). It was a symbol of royal despotism and an object of detestation to the rebels. Though virtually impregnable, it was lamely defended by its small garrison. After a few hours the garrison surrendered on a promise of safety. The mob found no victims of tyranny, only seven criminals. Nevertheless, the hangers-on of the attacking force massacred the guards and paraded their heads on pikes through the streets.

Louis was awakened from an early sleep to hear the news. “What! A riot, then?” said he. “No, Sire,” replied the

messenger, "a revolution." The anniversary of the fall of the Bastille (July 14) is still celebrated in France as the birthday of political liberty.

This rising encouraged the Assembly. The most hated courtiers fled from France. The vacillating king visited Paris, sanctioned all that had been done, sent away the troops, accepted the *tricolor* (red, white, and blue), the badge of the Revolution, as the national colors, and for the third time made Necker his minister.

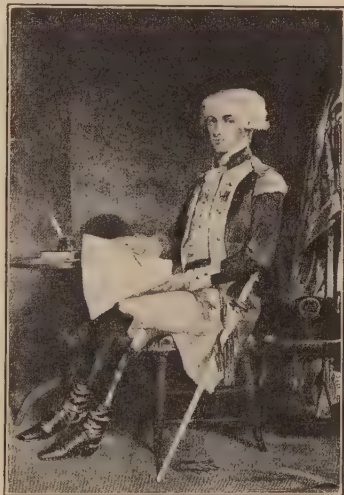
206. Outbreaks of violence throughout France followed the assault on the Bastille. The officials of the government, suspected by the population, abandoned by their assistants, unsupported by the king, and betrayed by the soldiery, made no attempt to quell the riots. Peasants and bands of vagabonds, in an orgy of delight at their new emancipation, plundered and demolished castles, seeking especially to destroy the court rolls with the records of their servile dues. Nobles that fell into their hands were ill treated or even killed. The poor peasants imagined the golden age had come and all taxes and hard labor would end. Each district had its carnival of plunder and bloodshed.

207. The Middle Classes Organize against Anarchy. — The king could not enforce the law; the machinery of the old royal government had collapsed. The Assembly did not dare to interfere, because astute leaders remembered that there were still many royal troops, against which the Assembly might need the assistance of the mob.

Locally everywhere the middle classes organized municipal governments to put down the reign of lawlessness. In Paris, during the disorders of July 13 the electoral college of the city (the men who had elected the delegates of Paris to the Third Estate) reassembled and assumed authority to act as Municipal Council. In other towns the same was done and in a few weeks France was covered with new local governments controlled by the middle class. This was made easier, because in many cases the electoral colleges (§ 199), instead of breaking up after the

election, had continued to hold occasional meetings during the two months intervening, in order to correspond with their delegates in the National Assembly.

The first act of the Paris council had been to order that in each of the sixty "sections" (wards) of the city two hundred men should patrol the streets to maintain order. This, or something like this, was done in all the districts of France. This new militia became permanent. It took the name of National Guards, and in Paris *Lafayette* became their commander. The Guards were recruited from the middle class or from former members of the French Guards. Before the middle of August these new forces had restored some semblance of order.



LAFAYETTE

208. Special Privileges Abolished. — On the evening of August 4, the discussions of the Assembly were interrupted by the report of disorders throughout the country. The account stirred the Assembly deeply. A young noble who had served in America with Lafayette declared that these evils were all due to the continuance of the feudal burdens, and with impassioned oratory he moved their instant abolition. One after another, in eager emulation, nobles and clergy followed, each proposing some sacrifice for his class — game laws, dove cotes, rights to military office, and a mass of sinecures and pensions. The tithes (§ 177), too, were to be done away with. Each proposal was ratified with applause.

Our American ambassador, Gouverneur Morris, was disgusted with the haste, and even Mirabeau complained: "Just like our

Frenchmen; they are an entire month wrangling over syllables, and in one night they overturn the ancient order of the kingdom." And, indeed, apprehensions were justified. Nothing was gained for public welfare by announcing all at once the abolition of so many laws and forms of property. Agriculture and industry came almost to a standstill. The real evils of the moment, the weakness of the central government, the deficit in the treasury, and the lawlessness of the mob, were not remedied by such measures. In cooler moments, later on, the Assembly modified many clauses providing for a gradual redemption of feudal rights. One benefit, however, remained and was never undone: Feudal burdens and legal inequalities in France were forever abolished in the night of August 4, 1789.

209. Summary of the Beginning of the Revolution. — In three months, May 5 to August 5, France had been revolutionized. The old three estates disappeared and the Third Estate successfully asserted its claim to represent the nation. The odious class distinctions were forever swept away. The local units of the country set up new local governments and organized new citizen armies to serve them. The new National Assembly was at work on a constitution for the whole nation.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN PARIS: AUGUST, 1789,
TO SEPTEMBER, 1791

210. The March of the Women. — Destruction is easier than construction. So far destruction had been the order of the day. Nothing had been done to relieve the distress of the country caused by the failure of the harvest (§ 203). Under these conditions it was easy for a new and terrible tyrant to mount the throne, the Paris mob. Parts of it were always in Versailles, invading the hall where the sessions of the Assembly were held, applauding the radicals and hissing the moderates. As a consequence, the saner element in the Assembly decreased and the extremists, supported by the rabble, grew bolder. They had long been scheming to get the king and the Assembly to Paris,

where they would not be in a position to refuse extreme demands. A banquet given at Versailles to a regiment of the royal body-guard was exaggerated into a fresh plot against the Assembly and the people. It was reported that young officers had trampled upon the tricolor and had displayed instead the old white cockade of the Bourbon monarchy. Such tales were used to stir up the most radical elements of the population, already suffering from hunger and hardship.

On October 5 a crowd of women, followed by the riffraff of the city, set out on a wild rush to bring the king to Paris. Lafayette,¹ who should have prevented it, permitted the mob to go on. In Versailles they invaded the Assembly. The king received a deputation of the mob, did his best to pacify them, and sent them home. But the mob remained, and a terrible massacre was prevented only by the tardy arrival of Lafayette with his National Guards.

Next morning the crowd broke into the palace to find the queen. Her life was saved by the gallant self-sacrifice of some of her guards. The king finally yielded to the demands of the mob upon the advice of Lafayette; and the same day a strange procession escorted the royal family to Paris — the rabble dancing with wild joy along the road before the royal carriage and shouting, "Now we shall have bread, for we are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy." The king's brothers and many nobles left France in dismay. These *émigrants* began now to enlist the help of foreign courts for the restoration of the old régime in France.

211. The Paris Mob Controls the Government. — The king and the Assembly were now completely at the mercy of the populace of the capital. The mob and agents hired by the Palais Royal (§ 203) came to the sessions and jeered and hissed from

¹ *Lafayette* earned the gratitude of America on account of the great services he rendered us in our struggle for liberty. Although he made several serious mistakes at this period he never approved of the excesses of the French Revolution.

the galleries at the speakers whom they disliked. Sometimes, too, conservative deputies were attacked in the streets. Very soon nearly one fourth of the members withdrew from the Assembly and thus weakened still more the party of order and law.¹

Political clubs, too, became a mighty power outside the Assembly. The most important of these were the *Jacobins*, who took their name from the suppressed Dominican monastery of St. Jacques (St. James) where they held their meetings. In this Jacobin club the most radical politicians met to discuss measures to be put before the Assembly, and to appoint agents to lead the crowd in the galleries and on the streets. Numerous offshoots of this Paris club soon overspread the land and advocated the cause of extreme democracy throughout France. There were other clubs, some radical like the Jacobins, some more moderate, but the former by their policy of threats and riots readily gained the upper hand.

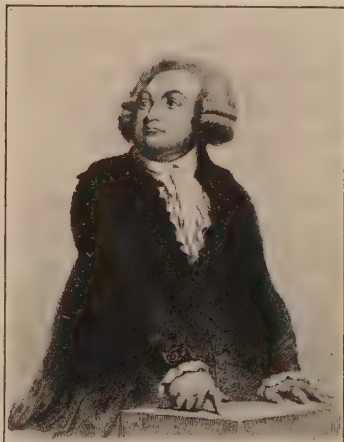
212. Rise of Political Parties. — The Assembly itself divided gradually into definite political parties. (1) On the Speaker's right sat the extreme conservatives known from their position as the *Right*. They were reactionists and stood for the restoration of the old order. Most of the remaining nobles and of the higher clergy belonged to it. (2) Next to them sat the *Right-Center*. This party did not wish to restore the old order, but hoped to prevent the Revolution from going any farther. They wished to keep political power in the hands of the wealthy land-owners and capitalists, to which class most of the prominent members belonged. Their ideal was the English constitution. (3) The *Left-Center*, the largest body, wished neither to restrict power to the very wealthy nor to extend it to the very poor, but to intrust it to the middle class (*bourgeoisie*). In this group sat Mirabeau, Lafayette, and Sicyès. Both parties of the Center advocated a constitutional monarchy. While the other

¹ The king resided henceforth in the palace of the *Tuilleries*. The Assembly established itself in a neighboring riding school.

parties constantly split on important issues, the Left-Center consisted of determined men who knew their own mind. (4) The *Extreme-Left* comprised some thirty deputies who were imbued with the ideas of Rousseau and worked for a republic. They wanted manhood suffrage. In this group sat *Robespierre*.

For the first time on the Continent political parties and with them a real political life had arisen.

213. Mirabeau.—The leader of the Assembly was really a party in himself. Mirabeau was a marvelous orator, a statesman of profound insight, and a man of dauntless daring. He never feared to oppose the mob if it clashed with his views, and he often won them to his side. Strangely enough, he lived a wild and dissolute life and so



MIRABEAU

could not gain influence over some of the best elements of the Assembly. All his life he had been accustomed to sell his pen and his brain to the highest bidder, but now at the end of his career he was sincere and convinced in the advice he gave, though he did not disdain to receive money from the court for his services.

Mirabeau was resolutely opposed to anarchy,¹ and he wanted a strong executive. After the "march of the women" he recognized that the danger to reform lay not so much in the king

¹ He once expressed his views in these striking words: "We are not savages from the banks of the Orinoco, come to set up a society. We are an ancient nation. . . . We have a preëxisting government, a preëxisting king, preëxisting prejudices. We must, as far as possible, adjust all these things to the Revolution and avoid violence of transition." The Assembly soon forgot this and acted as if, indeed, it were legislating for savages.

as in the mob. Thereafter he sought to preserve and direct what remained of royal power. He wished the king to accept the changes in good faith and surround himself with a strong but moderate ministry chosen from the Assembly. As the mob grew more furious, he wished the king to leave Paris and appeal to the provinces of France against the capital. The king hesitated.

214. Flight of the King. — Mirabeau died April 2, 1791, broken down by the strain of his work and by dissolute living. Then Louis decided to flee. His position had become well-nigh intolerable. He was especially uneasy over the constitutional changes affecting the position of the Church (§ 219) to which he had been forced to assent. He therefore resolved to escape, not to the interior of France, as Mirabeau had urged him, but to the eastern boundary, where loyal regiments were stationed. Besides, he built his hopes on his brother-in-law, the Emperor Leopold II, with whom the queen had negotiated. The plan nearly succeeded, but the king was recognized when almost within reach of the loyal regiments. The royal fugitives were brought back to Paris as prisoners (June 21, 1791).

215. The Attempt to Dethrone the King. — The flight led to another popular rising. This time the purpose was to force the Assembly to dethrone Louis. A petition was drawn up demanding the establishment of a republic, and crowds flocked from Paris to the Champ de Mars¹ to sign it. Some disorders occurred. For the first time the Assembly nerved itself to maintain order by force and sent Lafayette's guards to disperse the crowd. A few of the mob were killed.

This "Massacre of the Champ de Mars" (July 17) marks a sharp division between the mob and the middle class. For a time, the latter carried the day. In the next six weeks the victorious Assembly completed and revised its two years' work; and September 14, Louis, after reluctantly swearing to uphold the constitution, was restored to some semblance of his power.

¹ An open space near the city where a great celebration of the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille had just been held.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1791

216. The Declaration of the Rights of Man came first in the new constitution, after the example of the Bills of Rights in some of the American state constitutions. The Declaration had been put in form some months before as a completion of the night of August 4 (§ 208).

It proclaimed, —

(1) Men are born equal in rights and remain so.

(2) Law is the expression of the will of all the people. Every citizen has a right to a share in making it; and it must be the same for all.

And so on through a number of provisions. It made all Frenchmen equal before the law and equally eligible to public office. It abolished hereditary titles and confirmed the abolition of all special privileges. It established jury trial, freedom of religion, and freedom of the press. The Assembly boasted that "it shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors."

217. The New Government. — The Constitution organized a new government with the following main features. (1) The *central government* was to consist of the king and a Legislative Assembly of one house. The king could not dissolve the Assembly, and his veto could be overridden if three successive legislatures decided against him on any measure.¹ A new Assembly was to be chosen every other year.

(2) *Local Government.* — The historic provinces with their troublesome peculiar privileges and customs were wiped from the map. France was divided into eighty-three *departments* of nearly equal size. The departments were subdivided into *districts* and the district was made up of *communes* (villages or towns with their adjacent territory). The map of France to-day keeps these divisions. Each department and district elected a "General Council" and an executive board or "Directory," without, however, giving them much authority. The

¹ The new American states had just begun to try another way to limit the old absolute veto — permitting a two-thirds vote to override the President or governor. The French plan of a "suspensive" veto has been more popular in free countries in Europe.

forty thousand communes had each its elected Council and mayor. So much power was left to these communes that France under this constitution was called "a loose alliance of forty thousand little republics."

(3) The *franchise* was not given to all, despite the Declaration of the Rights of Man. About one fourth of the men had no vote. A voter had to have enough property to pay taxes equal to three days' wages of an artisan. Then these "active citizens" or voters were graded further, according to their wealth, into three divisions. The first class could merely vote. The second class could hold office in communes and districts, and be chosen to electoral colleges. Only the third, and wealthiest, class was eligible for the higher offices. Thus political supremacy was secured to the middle class by two devices — graded property qualifications, and indirect elections. Both these devices to dodge complete equality were used in the American states of that day. No American state had full manhood suffrage.

218. The Confiscation of Church Lands. — The radical changes described above were basically good, but the immediate consequences were terrible. Disorder and confusion became general. After the complete collapse of the old administration (§ 207) the people ceased to pay taxes, and the new constitution was too violent a break with the past to work smoothly at once. Meanwhile the government needed money, and taxes were not forthcoming. In this difficulty the Assembly thought of the rich property of the Church.

We saw (§ 208) how the tithes were abolished August 4. At that time no compensation was provided for the losers, the clergy. Soon the principle was put forward that all ecclesiastical property belonged, not to the Church, but to the nation. *Talleyrand*, an apostate bishop and member of the Assembly, proposed that the tithes and all church property should be put at the disposal of the state. After deducting the expenses for the maintenance of the clergy and the churches, the balance, he

thought, would be enough to meet the financial needs of the government.

In spite of vigorous protests the measure was passed in November. The lands of the Church were to be sold at once, but as few purchasers could be found, the government issued the *assignats*, a form of paper money, with the church lands as security. The revolutionary governments found this a very convenient way of meeting their obligations, and in the next seven years they issued about eight billion dollars in assignats. This overissue caused their value to decline, until they sank to about one per cent of their face value. Ultimately they were repudiated.

219. The "Civil Constitution of the Clergy." — Not satisfied with the confiscation of Church property, the Assembly went still further. In February, 1790, it declared all vows of religious orders contrary to the spirit of liberty and therefore *null and void*. The monasteries were dissolved and their inmates sent into the world. The suppression of so many religious institutions of men and women was a terrible blow to education and charitable work.

Finally the Assembly undertook to reorganize the Church in France according to revolutionary principles. It did this in a set of laws known as the *Civil Constitution of the French Clergy*, which formed part of the constitution of 1791. Henceforth there was to be one bishop for each department. By this forty-eight bishoprics were at one stroke abolished. The bishop was to be appointed by the electors of the department and the parish priest by the district councils (§ 217). No religious qualifications were required in the men who made the appointment, so that Catholics, Protestants, and infidels had a vote in the matter. As the property of the church had all been confiscated, the government undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy.

This Civil Constitution of course violated the fundamental principles of the Church. All these radical changes were made

without even consulting the Holy See. Moreover, the pope could never have agreed to the manner of appointing bishops and pastors provided by the new law, because eventually it would have separated France from the Holy See. Such seems to have been the intention of those who framed the Constitution, for when speaking of the election of bishops they state explicitly: "The new bishop may not apply to the pope for any form of confirmation."¹

Louis XVI, who feared that his refusal would only strengthen the extremists, at last reluctantly put his name to the Constitution. But the majority of the clergy objected. To break their resistance the Assembly decreed that every bishop and priest should take an oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution under pain of expulsion from office. Only seven of the bishops took the oath, and less than one half of the lower clergy submitted to it, many of them without understanding the issue at stake. Pope Pius VI at first delayed action, hoping that the remedy would come from France itself, but in April, 1791, he publicly and solemnly condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. The Assembly replied by annexing the papal territory of Avignon.

New priests were rapidly ordained to fill the places of those who refused the oath by those few bishops who had submitted to the Constitution, among them Talleyrand. Soon France, in addition to other calamities, suffered from a division in the Church. The clergy split into *jurors* and *nonjurors*, according as they took or refused the oath. Naturally the oath drove loyal Catholics into hostility to the Revolution. Thenceforth the Church and the Revolution were implacable enemies, and the bitter memories of the conflict survived the Revolution and exercised a baneful influence on French politics throughout the nineteenth century.

¹ Read the "Civil Constitution" in Robinson's *Readings in European History*, Vol. II, p. 423.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY TO THE WAR (SEPTEMBER, 1791, TO APRIL, 1792)

220. The Constitution Accepted. — Thus France had been made over in two years. The bulk of the nation accepted the result joyfully, with the exception of the laws affecting the Church. Most men believed that the Revolution was over. The moderate reformers very largely withdrew from active politics, and did not even vote at the next election.

On the other hand, the extremists were dissatisfied with the restrictions on the franchise and with the retention of the monarchy. In their clubs, especially those of the Jacobins, they possessed an excellent political machinery with which they could strongly influence the elections. Moreover, they had the sympathy of the large class that had no vote; and in many cases these disfranchized citizens proved an important factor in the elections, terrorizing the more conservative elements by mob violence.

221. Parties. — Unfortunately, the National Assembly had made its members ineligible to seats in the Legislative Assembly, where their political experience might have been of some value. The seven hundred and forty-five members who had just been elected to the Legislative Assembly were all new men, mostly young provincial lawyers and journalists. The real power rested with the clubs.

No party in the new Assembly corresponded to the old Right and Right-Center of the Constitutional Assembly (§ 212). The new Right corresponded to the old Left-Center. Its members were known as the *Constitutionalists*, because they wished to preserve the constitution as it was. Outside the House this party was represented by Lafayette, who, since the death of Mirabeau, was the most influential man in France. In the Assembly this party counted about one hundred regular adherents, but, for a time, the four hundred members of the *Center*, or "*The Plain*," voted with it on most questions. The Plain, however, was gradually won over to the more radical views of the *Left*.

The Left (a parliamentary term referring originally to the opposition party, which usually sits at the left of the speaker, and sometimes to the radical group generally) consisted of about two hundred and forty delegates, many of them connected with the Jacobin clubs. The greater part were to become known as *Girondists*, from the Gironde, the name of the department from which the leaders came. They wanted a republic, but were unwilling to use force to get one. They feared and hated the Paris mob, and they wished to intrust power to the provinces rather than to the capital. The leaders were eloquent men, full of Rousseau's ideas, but very unpractical politicians.

The members of the Extreme Left, known from the elevated seats in the rear of the hall of the legislature as the "*Mountain*," were mostly Jacobins, who worked for the overthrow of the monarchy, using every means, fair and foul, persuasion, intrigue, and violence.

222. Foreign Intervention Threatened. — The emigrants, who had been scheming abroad for the overthrow of the new government, were gathering in arms on the Rhine, under the protection of German princes. They were drilling mercenary troops and had secret sympathizers within France. In the winter a plot to betray to them the great fortress of Strasbourg all but succeeded. Thereupon the Assembly condemned to death all emigrants who would not return before a certain date. The king vetoed the measure.

Louis XVI, in fact, found it impossible to give his hearty support to the new constitution. His conscience forbade this. Moreover, after his flight he was virtually a prisoner of the Assembly and the mob of Paris. To free himself from this intolerable situation, he and the queen began to negotiate for foreign intervention. The emigrants worked for the same end. Leopold II of Austria, brother-in-law of the French king, was willing to do something in behalf of Louis and the queen, but hoped to avert war. He had little sympathy with the emigrants, who cared nothing for France, but only for the restora-

tion of their privileges, and whose dissolute conduct in exile often shocked every one.

Austria and Prussia sent a note to the other powers, August 27, 1791, inviting them to joint interference in behalf of Louis XVI. But at the time no further steps were taken, as both Prussia and Austria were busy with the partition of Poland (§ 173). However, the note, together with the threats and boasts of the emigrants on the Rhine, produced strong indignation in the Assembly and helped to precipitate the war.

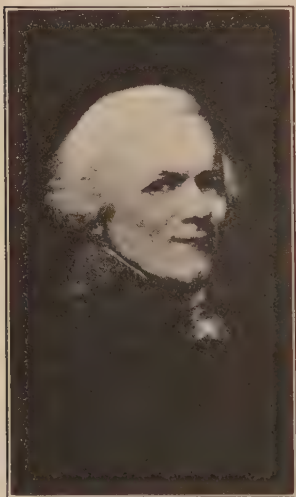
223. War Declared against Austria and Prussia. — The Legislative Assembly demanded of the Emperor Leopold that he disperse the army of the emigrants and refrain from interfering in French affairs. Leopold replied evasively, but in March, 1792, he died suddenly, and his successor Francis II assumed a more threatening attitude. Then *the Assembly declared war against Austria and her ally, Prussia* (April, 1792).

The majority of the Assembly was, in fact, eager for war. The moderate Constitutionalists expected war to strengthen the executive (as it would have done if the king had heartily coöperated with them), and they also hoped that it would increase their own power, since Lafayette was commander of the army. On the other hand, the Girondists and the bulk of the Assembly desired the overthrow of the monarchy. In war time, they reasoned, it will be easier to discredit the king with the masses and to represent him as a danger to the nation, because he will be suspected of negotiating with the powers. Louis was indeed corresponding with Austria, suggesting a "conference supported by an armed force as the best means of checking seditious parties and preventing the evil which affects us from reaching other states of Europe."

224. The Radicals Oppose the War. — The only voices raised against the war were from the Mountain and its sympathizers in the Jacobin club. For they feared that the war would show the need of a strong executive and thus strengthen the monarchy. Strangely enough, however, both Girondists and

Constitutionalists were to find their ruin in the war they so recklessly invited; while the three men most active in opposing the war — *Robespierre*, *Danton*, and *Marat* — were to be called by it to virtual dictatorship. With them and with the war the

Revolution entered upon a new phase, one of tyranny and bloodshed.



ROBESPIERRE

Marat was by profession a physician of some note. As a politician he was jealous and suspicious, and he seems to have become half-crazed in the turmoil of the Revolution. Already in the early days of the National Assembly he had begun to preach the assassination of all aristocrats. He was responsible for much innocent blood shed later on. Though sometimes capable of generous impulses, he seemed to know only one means to overcome opposition to his ideas — killing.

Robespierre before the Revolution had been a precise and vain young lawyer in a provincial town, Arras. He was an ardent admirer of Rousseau. As a deputy to the National Assembly he came to Paris, joined the Jacobins, and became one of their leaders. He was narrow, dull, and pedantic, had none of the fiery eloquence of Mirabeau or Danton. Yet he was more honest than either, never giving or receiving bribes, a rare thing among the revolutionary leaders. He dreamed of France as a glorious republic where there would be neither rich nor poor, oppressors nor oppressed, where all would be simple, frugal patriots. In a later stage of the Revolution he did not hesitate to hand over to the executioner his own associates.

Danton, a Parisian lawyer, early became prominent in the

radical clubs, and, next to Mirabeau, was the strongest man of the Revolution. He was well named "the Mirabeau of the Market Place." Of gigantic size and strength, gifted with a thunderous voice, he was a born leader of the mob. He had no very definite ideas about the future of France, but when swift merciless action was needed, he was ready for the task. Part of the blame for the massacres of the Reign of Terror falls on him. He opposed the war because he saw how unprepared France was, and how unfit the leaders. But when it came, he brushed the leaders aside and himself helped to organize victory.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND STAGE: THE REVOLUTION AT WAR

THE WAR TO THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY: JUNE
TO SEPTEMBER, 1792

225. Louis Vetoes the Deportation of Nonjuring Priests. — At the declaration of war the raw and undisciplined French levies at once invaded Belgium (then an Austrian province, § 149), but were rolled back in defeat. Prussia and Austria, however, were just then more interested in the approaching second partition of Poland (§ 173), and so the French were given a few weeks more to prepare before the storm broke. The reverses in Belgium gave the signal for some violent legislation. The Assembly decreed the deportation of all nonjuring priests, and provided for the formation at Paris of a camp of twenty thousand selected troops, mostly desperate characters taken from the National Guards of the provinces. Louis vetoed these decrees and dismissed the Girondist ministry.

Despite the veto, a small camp was formed near Paris under the pretense of celebrating the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, in reality to overawe the king. Among these forces were six hundred men from Marseille. They entered Paris, singing a new battle hymn, which afterwards was chanted on many a revolutionary battle field and was to become famous as the *Marseillaise*.

226. The Tuileries Invaded, June 20. — The ringleaders, Girondists and Jacobins, now tried to force the king to sign the decree. On the third anniversary of the Tennis Court Oath thousands of the rabble from the Paris slums marched howling and shrieking through the hall of the Assembly and then invaded the Tuileries and broke into the royal apartments. The king

faced the mob with great courage, spoke calmly to them, and to please them put on the red cap, the emblem of the Revolution ; but to all demands for a recall of his veto he made firm refusal. By his quiet dignity he disarmed the rage of the mob, and finally they were persuaded to leave.



THE FIRST SINGING OF THE "MARSEILLAISE"

The author and composer of the *Marseillaise*, Rouget de Lisle, sings that famous revolutionary hymn before the mayor of Strasbourg. It was given its name accidentally, because it was first publicly sung by volunteers marching from Marseille to Paris.

The king issued a protest against these outrages. An outburst of loyalty from the Moderates followed. Lafayette, in command at the frontier, hastened to Paris, to demand punishment of the ringleaders and the closing of the Jacobin club. Though the middle classes were ready to rally about him, he failed mainly because the king would not trust him, but preferred to try to restore order with the aid of foreign states. Lafayette returned to the army, and in Paris the control of affairs passed rapidly into the hands of the Jacobins.

227. France Surrounded by Foes. — *Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia* were in arms. *Naples and Spain* were soon to join. *Sweden and Russia* offered to do so if help were needed. In July a Prussian army, commanded by old officers of Frederick the Great, crossed the frontier near Verdun; and two Austrian armies, one from the Netherlands and one from the upper Rhine, converged upon the same line of invasion.

The French levies were outnumbered three to one. Worse still, they were utterly demoralized by the resignation of many officers in the face of the enemy and by the suspicion that many more of those remaining were not heart and soul in the cause.

Within France were royalist risings and widespread discontent. Everybody suspected, though only few knew it for certain, that the royal family was in secret correspondence with the enemy. Incapable of rallying and coöperating with the moderate elements, the helpless king relied on his brother monarchs. This was a fatal mistake which a proud and sensitive people, like the French, would never forgive.

228. Brunswick's Proclamation. — Unfortunately for the king, the Prussian commander, the Duke of Brunswick, unwittingly played into the hands of Louis's enemies. On July 25, 1792, he issued a proclamation to the French nation, declaring (1) that the allies entered France to put an end to anarchy and to restore the king to his rightful position, (2) that all men taken with arms in their hands would be punished as rebels, (3) that, if the least violence was offered to the royal family, he would "inflict an ever memorable vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military execution and complete destruction." This stupid and arrogant document provoked an outcry of rage against the king and induced the Jacobins to act immediately.

229. The Tuileries Again Invaded, August 10. — A band of Jacobins, led by Danton, gathered at the city hall. There they arrested the Municipal Council (consisting chiefly of moderate men), and opened the second stage of the Revolution by taking the reins of the city's administration into their own hands. This

new *Commune of Paris* prepared an attack upon the Tuileries for August 10. On the day appointed the mob surged from all sides toward the palace. The National Guards placed there at once abandoned their post, but the Swiss Guard of 900 men refused to give up their arms, and, when attacked, opened fire. The weak king sent an order to cease firing; they promptly obeyed. But the mob fell upon them and massacred them all, wounded and surgeons alike.¹ Louis, in the meantime, had fled from his own apartments into the Assembly. Thither the crowd followed him and demanded the king's instant deposition. The Assembly, from which two thirds had fled before the mob, deprived Louis of his functions and imprisoned him with the royal family in the *Temple*. Then they decreed the immediate election, by manhood suffrage, of a constitutional convention to frame a new government.



THE LION OF LUCERNE

However, the Assembly was no longer master of the situation; the real power rested with the *Commune of Paris*, in which sat Robespierre and other prominent Jacobins.

When the news of the king's imprisonment reached the army, Lafayette tried to lead it against Paris. But he found the troops unwilling to follow him, and, to prevent his own arrest and probable execution, he placed himself in the hands of the Austrians.²

¹ Their fidelity is commemorated by one of the most celebrated monuments in Europe, the so-called "Lion of Lucerne," at Lucerne in Switzerland.

² Lafayette was cast into prison by the Austrians, and remained there until he was freed by the victories of Napoleon four years later.

230. The September Massacres. — The Jacobins knew very well that the sentiment of the nation at large did not favor them. Therefore they realized that in order to win the new elections, they would have to use threats and violence, the usual Jacobin methods.

Through the Commune of Paris, which they wholly controlled, the Jacobins made use of events at the front to further their schemes. The fortress of Longwy had fallen into the hands of the Prussians and Verdun was invested. The Jacobins shouted "treason," and Danton, as minister of justice, demanded permission from the Commune to search private houses for hidden arms. Few were found, but the real object, the arrest of anti-Jacobins, was fully attained, and the prisons were filled to overflowing. A committee of the Commune then ordered the massacre of these prisoners. Hired assassins began the bloody work on September 2, and continued it for four days. Scenes of horrible butchery took place all over Paris. Thousands of persons were put to death without trial or proof of guilt, among them priests, women, and children. A circular sent by the Commune into the provinces brought about similar tragedies in Lyon, Versailles, Reims, and elsewhere.

It is impossible to see what danger could have menaced the nation from these helpless prisoners. But the Jacobins achieved their object: the moderates were terror-stricken and sank into mute acquiescence in Jacobin rule. With these radicals must rest the responsibility for the awful deed; with Marat, who never ceased shrieking for the blood of "the aristocrats," with Danton, who, as minister of justice, was responsible for the prisoners, but instead of preventing the crime, loudly praised it: "It was necessary to make our enemies afraid."

FALL OF THE MONARCHY: THE GIRONDISTS, SEPTEMBER,
1792, TO JUNE, 1793

231. The Revolutionary Troops Victorious. — After the battle of *Valmy*, September 20, the war favored the French

armies. The credit belongs chiefly to Danton, who strained every nerve to raise armies and drill recruits. Verdun and Longwy were retaken by the French, and the Allies were forced back across the Rhine. In the southeast Savoy and Nice were wrested from the king of Sardinia. Another French army crossed the upper Rhine and entered Germany. With great rapidity General *Dumouriez* overran the *Austrian Netherlands* after a brilliant victory at Jemappes.

These successes called forth wild enthusiasm and a demand to spread the revolution beyond the boundaries of France. Frenchmen believed themselves intrusted with the mission of bringing liberty to other "oppressed nations." The first act of the new Constitutional Convention (§ 229) was to call upon all peoples to dethrone their monarchs and set up new governments, based upon the principles of popular sovereignty proclaimed by Rousseau. France would aid them with her strong arm. On the other hand, she would treat all those as enemies who refused to give themselves the blessings of liberty.

The Convention soon realized that war is expensive, and it therefore decreed that the cost of the war should be transferred to the shoulders of the liberated nations. Thus it came to pass that the French armies, at first hailed as liberators by many, were soon considered an intolerable burden. Moreover the lawless revolutionary soldiery committed innumerable robberies, sacrileges, and murders in the conquered countries, especially in Belgium and on the Rhine. The disillusioned people quickly learned that liberty, as advocated by the revolutionists, was only a cloak for the lust of plunder and conquest.

232. The First Republic. — The new Assembly or Convention met on September 21, 1792. The Jacobins had used every means to get deputies after their own heart. They succeeded so well in keeping the moderate element from the polls that only about six per cent of the adult male population cast their vote.

No Constitutionals (§ 221) appeared in the Convention. The Girondists now sat on the right; they seemed to have the

support of the previous Plain and, indeed, of the whole Convention with the exception of the former Mountain. Among the latter party, the most radical in Paris, were now Marat, Robespierre, and Danton, with the deputies of Paris, and the organizers of the rising of August 10. In its first session the Convention declared the monarchy abolished, and established the *French Republic, One and Indivisible*.

233. The Execution of Louis XVI. — The Mountain had determined from the outset to take the life of the king in order to make a reconciliation with the royalists impossible. Violence had brought them to power, and violence alone could keep them there. So they at once came forward with a demand for the trial of the king. The rest of the deputies would have preferred to save Louis's life, but they feared the charge of "royalism" and acquiesced.

On December 11 the king, who since his imprisonment had suffered every kind of insult, was brought before the bar of the Convention and charged with "treason to the nation." The debates were long and stormy. When it came to the decision the majority of the deputies, intimidated by the hired shouters in the galleries, voted "guilty." But in a second ballot the death sentence was passed by a majority of only a few. The unfortunate king accepted his fate with calmness and dignity. After bidding farewell to his family he spent the time in preparing for the end. An Irish priest, Father Edgeworth, assisted him in his last moments. On January 22, 1793, Louis XVI met death amid the deep silence of the multitude. The Jacobins had taken care to prevent every demonstration.

Louis was not the man to guide France through the crisis through which she was passing, a crisis due more to the faults of his predecessors than to his own shortcomings. But in death he showed the qualities of a true Christian hero and a worthy scion of Louis the Saint.

234. Consequences of the King's Execution. — Strained relations had for some time existed between England and the

French revolutionary government. England felt herself threatened by the French invitation to revolt (§ 231) and by French designs upon Holland. The decree to annex Belgium and the execution of Louis XVI brought matters to a head. England dismissed the French ambassador, whereupon the Convention promptly declared war against *England* and *Holland*. *Spain* and *Portugal* joined the Allies. As Prussia and Austria were still in the field, the Convention was now at war with almost all Europe. The emigrants proclaimed the imprisoned child of the executed king as Louis XVII. Things began to look dark for France. Dumouriez was defeated in Belgium. Disgusted with the mad government in Paris, he planned a march upon the capital. But his troops abandoned him and he went over to the Austrians. In Germany the French general Custine was driven back to the Rhine and, as punishment for his incapacity, was put to death by the Convention.

235. Disunion at Home. — A new constitution, an extremely democratic document, had been framed by the Convention, but it never went into effect. The republicans declared that France was in danger and that the government must be left free from constitutional checks until the war was over.

Bitter quarrels arose between the Girondists and the Mountain within the Convention. The latter was supported by the mob of Paris and the radical clubs. Outside the capital the Girondists were much stronger; hence they wished to remove the Convention from Paris and the control of the mob. The Mountain accused them of desiring to break the Indivisible Republic.

The crisis came in June, 1793. A revolutionary tribunal had been set up and the Girondists attempted to have Marat tried for inciting insurrection. Marat was acquitted through the influence of the mob. Later a Commission of Twelve was formed to try the Paris agitators. A street rising cowed the Convention into submission, but that body refused to eject the members of the Commission of Twelve (mostly Girondists).

236. The Extreme Left Gains Control. — Danton for some time tried in vain to reconcile the parties. The Girondists were mad enough to accuse him of royalist conspiracy. Then he turned savagely upon his assailants. "You were right," he cried to his friends of the Mountain who had urged action against the Girondists, "and I was wrong. There is no peace possible with these men. Let it be war, then. They will not save the Republic with us. It shall be saved without them, and in spite of them."

The Mountain determined to get control of the Convention. Though weak in the Convention itself, it was strong in the galleries, in the streets, and, above all, in the Commune of Paris. The latter organized a rising against the Convention. On June 2 an armed crowd surrounded the Tuileries and held the deputies prisoners until they had passed a decree which put thirty of the leading Girondists under arrest. Other Girondists escaped into the provinces. At the same time a parade of "delegates of the people," organized by Robespierre and Danton, declared the Convention permanent. Thus the Mountain was left in sole power. Danton, in an impassioned speech, proclaimed a *Reign of Terror* against all foes of the republic.

THE REIGN OF TERROR, JUNE, 1793, TO JULY, 1794

237. Leaders and Organizations of the Terror. — The Convention, now dominated by the Mountain, soon saw that it was too large and unwieldy to cope with the many urgent problems, and appointed from its midst a small executive body, the *Committee of Public Safety*. It consisted of twelve members, all from the Mountain, and for a while Danton was its leading spirit. Carnot had charge of military matters and by his tireless energy and real talent he became the "organizer of victory." Robespierre and Saint-Just sought to direct political affairs and to realize their ideal, a republic after Rousseau's theories.

The Committee of Public Safety sent its representatives, the *deputies on mission*, to all parts of France to enforce obedi-

ence to its orders. Every ten days they had to report to the central committee. While "on mission" these deputies exercised despotic power, replacing civil authorities at will, seizing money and supplies "for national use" (frequently to fill their own pockets), arresting and condemning to death by their own courts. Two such deputies accompanied each of the armies of the republic, with authority to arrest a general at the head of his troops. This was to secure energy in the conduct of the war and to prevent defections like those of Lafayette and Dumouriez.

The *Revolutionary Tribunal*, appointed by the Committee of Public Safety, with its sub-tribunals in the departments, had to condemn promptly the victims sent to it by the authorities.

The *Revolutionary Army* was organized by conscription to replace the mercenaries of the monarchy. It had strong detachments in every city, for the army served not only to repel foreign invasion but "to guard prisoners, arrest suspects, demolish castles, ransack vestries for gold and silver, and to strike every anti-Jacobin with physical terror."

238. Civil War. — Not all Girondists had been arrested. Those who escaped roused the provinces against the Jacobin capital. The citizens of Lyon, Marseille, Toulon, Bordeaux, Caen, the largest cities of France outside Paris, took up arms against the Jacobins. Toulon, the naval harbor, even admitted an English fleet.

Opposition to the Jacobin rule was strongest in the *Vendée*. The population in this remote province on the mouth of the Loire river consisted of simple sturdy peasants who had looked with disfavor on the changes wrought by the revolution. The nobles were not hated there, but lived in patriarchal simplicity and familiarity with their tenants. Being thoroughly Catholic, these peasants were indignant at the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (§ 219) and stanchly refused to deal with any but non-juring priests. When the news of the execution of Louis XVI came their wrath knew no bounds. With the war cry "For

Church and King," they flew to arms and under able leaders inflicted crushing defeats on the republican levies.

239. Revolt and Invasion Quelled. — Carnot took energetic measures against enemies at the frontier and at home. He decreed a levy of the whole population. "All France and whatsoever it contains of men and resources is put under requisition," said a proclamation of the Committee. "The Republic is one vast besieged city. . . . The young men shall go to battle; it is their task to conquer; the married men shall forge arms, transport baggage and artillery, provide subsistence; the women shall work at soldiers' clothes, make tents, serve in the hospitals; children shall scrape old linen into surgeon's lint; the old men shall have themselves carried into public places, and there, by their words, excite the courage of the young and preach hatred of the kings and unity for the Republic."

Soon fourteen armies were placed in the field. The Allies had again to retreat from the Rhine (§ 234) and French troops once more invaded Germany. Toulon was taken from the English.¹ Caen, Bordeaux, Marseille, and Lyon fell into the hands of the Republicans, and the Vendéans suffered disastrous defeat.

240. The Reign of Terror. — Frightful was the vengeance taken on the vanquished. At Toulon people were slaughtered in heaps. Lyon was nearly razed to the ground and the population, by executions and exile, reduced by about one third. But the Vendée saw the most horrible excesses of revenge. *Carrier* at the head of a revolutionary tribunal put to death thousands of men, women, and children during the last three months of 1793. Over eighteen hundred were drowned in the Loire. Next year twelve republican detachments, "columns of hell," entered the unfortunate province with orders to "exterminate the people and confiscate the lands." Accordingly, they killed every living thing that came in their way and destroyed entire towns and villages. No wonder that

¹ In the siege of Toulon a young officer of artillery by his skill and daring attracted the notice of his superior. His name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

the peasants preferred to die with arms in their hands. Many escaped across the Loire, and the insurrection spread into Brittany, to be quelled only after the fall of the Terror.

In the capital the Revolutionary Tribunal, the court of "justice" under the Committee of Public Safety, reigned supreme. *The Law of Suspects*, passed in September, 1793, enabled it to try the most innocent persons under suspicion of unfriendliness to the republic. To mourn over a victim of Jacobin cruelty, to show signs of attachment to the old Church, to refuse to accept the nearly worthless assignats, were capital crimes. Each day the Revolutionary Tribunal sent batches of victims to the guillotine.¹ The noblest of them was *Marie Antoinette*. Separated from her son and exposed to the brutality of her keepers, the former queen bore her sufferings with queenly dignity. After a disgraceful trial, in which her own little child was forced to testify against his mother, Marie Antoinette was guillotined on October 16, 1793. Next year her son, "*Louis XVII*," succumbed in prison to the brutal treatment of a coarse cobbler, into whose custody he had been given.

Other victims were the imprisoned Girondist deputies (§ 236), nonjuring priests, nobles, and people from all classes. The Duke of Orléans, who had intrigued against Louis XVI and voted for the king's death, now paid the penalty of his treachery.

241. Attempt to Obliterate Religion. — The Jacobins were determined to root out the past completely. Not only nonjuring priests but also "constitutional priests" became their victims. The godless republic had no use for them. No administration of any sacrament was tolerated. To destroy every trace of Christian civilization the Convention replaced the Christian calendar by the Revolutionary Era. September 22,

¹ In former times it had been customary to behead victims with the sword. At the opening of the Revolution a certain Dr. Guillotin recommended a new device, which consisted of a heavy knife sliding downward between two uprights. This instrument, called, after him, the guillotine, was swifter and surer than the sword in the hands of the executioner.

1792, the day on which the republic was declared, was the first day of the Year One. There followed twelve months of thirty days each, and then five days of revolutionary festivities. Each month was divided into three decades, and each tenth day was a holiday (in place of the Christian Sunday). All feasts of the Lord and the saints were replaced by revolutionary festivals and anniversaries. The months were renamed after the seasons and the varying occupation of the peasant.



GIRONDISTS GOING TO THE GUILLOTINE

During the last months of 1793 the Commune of Paris abolished the worship of God and the belief in the immortality of the soul. A "goddess of reason," in the person of a shameless woman, was enthroned on the high altar of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris; the other churches were closed and plundered. Similar blasphemous scenes were enacted in other cities.

242. Dissension among the Jacobins. — During the Terror the Jacobins were not opposed by any organized party, but they themselves soon broke up into factions. The Committee of Public Safety, led by Robespierre, continued to uphold the Terror, but outside the committee two hostile factions arose.

The Commune of Paris, controlled by the coarse and atheistic Hébert, had long dominated the Convention and the Committee of Public Safety. More than any other body it was responsible for the bloody excesses of the revolutionists as well as for the suppression of Christian worship. It now advocated even a worse Terror. It wished to reduce rich and poor to the same level by wholesale confiscations and to execute all opponents of such measures. Robespierre, fearing for his own ascendancy in the Committee, united the more moderate elements against the Hébertists. Twice before, the Commune had reversed the control of the national assembly by insurrection (§§ 229, 236). Now it tried it a third time, but failed; and Robespierre sent Hébert and his friends to the guillotine (March, 1794).

The leader of the moderate faction in the Committee, who had aided Robespierre in crushing the Hébertists, was Danton, now the only man in France whose influence rivaled that of Robespierre. Although he was one of those mainly responsible for the Terror, Danton was weary of bloodshed. For months he had been urging that "terror" was no longer needed, now that France was victorious without and tranquil within. One of Danton's friends, Camille Desmoulins (§ 204), started a witty newspaper to criticize the policy of the Committee, suggesting in its place a "Committee of Mercy" to bind up the wounds of France. In April Robespierre accused both men of "conspiracy" and "royalism" and sent them to death (April 5, 1794).

Danton's danger had been plain, and his friends urged him to strike first. "Better be guillotined than to do more guillotining," he answered. He was disgusted with his own share in the Revolution. "I have served the Revolution only too well," he said at the trial, "and now life is a burden to me." When he heard his own death sentence he exclaimed prophetically, "Before three months are past the people will tear my accusers to pieces."

243. The Fall of Robespierre. — Robespierre, for the next three months, was sole master of France. He thought the

moment favorable to carry out some of his pet ideas. He abolished the "worship of reason" and at his request the Convention decreed the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul. He never tired of preaching his "virtue" and "patriotism" and of discoursing on his impractical ideals. In the meantime the Terror increased. A decree of the Convention abolished all formal trials so that the Tribunal had merely to pronounce sentence over the victims furnished to it by Robespierre. The latter had in his pay an army of spies.

Finally the Convention trembled for its own safety. Robespierre's enemies, former Dantonists and Hébertists, conspired against him. July 26 he hurled threats at them without, however, naming any one. The conspirators saw that they had to act quickly. Next day, when he began to speak, he was interrupted with shouts of "Down with the tyrant." The Convention arrested him; but his friends in the Commune rescued him and brought him to the city hall. They then tried to create a rising in his favor, but failed. An armed force brought him back to the Convention. Quickly he was tried and executed with a hundred followers (July 29, 1794).

244. The End of the Reign of Terror. — The Terror now came to an end, and some extreme laws were repealed. Encouraged by the reaction against the radicals, in December, the fugitive members of the Right once more appeared in the Convention, and the following March even the survivors of the expelled Girondists were admitted. The Jacobins, trembling for both their power and their lives, roused the mob of Paris in a desperate attempt to check the reaction. This time the middle classes rallied, dispersed the mob by troops and by organized bands of wealthy young men, the "gilded youth."

The mob was disarmed, the National Guards reorganized, and there followed all over France a violent reaction, the *White Terror*, wherein many hundreds of the Jacobin party were executed or assassinated. The radical clubs were closed, and the Committee of Public Safety was dissolved.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE THIRD STAGE: THE DIRECTORY, 1795-1799

ASCENDENCY OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

245. The New Constitution. — A new " Constitution of the Year III " (1795) replaced the constitution of the Year I (§ 235) and confirmed the middle-class rule. The government established by this document is called the *Directory*. This was the name of the executive, which consisted of a committee of five, chosen by the legislature. The legislature consisted of two houses. Property qualifications for voting were restored.

246. The Last Insurrection. — The new constitution was submitted to a popular vote. At the last moment, before the vote was taken, the expiring Convention decreed that two thirds of its members should hold over as members of the new Assembly. This clause was submitted to the people, along with the constitution, and was practically made a condition of the latter. It was carried by a small majority, while the constitution was adopted by an overwhelming vote.

In Paris the secret royalists took advantage of the dissatisfaction with the clause or " rider " to stir up revolt. They were joined by twenty thousand National Guards. The upper classes generally and the National Guards rose against the clause that practically perpetuated the Convention. The Directory was in terror. But it had four thousand regular troops, and it happened to hit upon a brilliant young officer to command them. That officer posted cannon about the approaches to the convention hall and mowed down the attacking columns with grapeshot (October 5, 1795). The Directory remained in power for four years. The chief interest for this

period centers in the rise of the young officer who had saved the old republicans their seats in the new legislature. His name was Napoleon Bonaparte.

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON

247. Foreign Relations. — In 1795, when the executive leadership of the Convention was merged in the Directory, France had already made great gains of territory. On the northeast, Belgium had been annexed, with the vote of its people, an act which the Belgians soon bitterly regretted (§ 231). *Nice* and *Savoy*, on the southeast, had been added, in like manner. The eastern frontier had been moved to the *Rhine*, by the seizure of all the territory of the Empire on the west side of the river. *Holland* had been converted into a dependent ally, as the "Batavian Republic," with a constitution molded on that of France. Prussia, Spain, and most of the small states had withdrawn from the war. Only England, Austria, and Sardinia kept the field.

248. The Campaign in Italy. — The Directory determined to attack Austria vigorously, in both Germany and Italy.¹ Two splendid armies were sent to Germany, and a small, ill-supplied force in Italy was put under the command of Bonaparte. But while the two armies in Germany were utterly defeated, the wonderful genius of the young general (then twenty-seven years old) made the Italian campaign the decisive factor in the war. By rapid movements he separated the Austrian and Sardinian forces, beat Sardinia in five battles in eleven days, and forced her to conclude peace. Turning upon the brave but deliberate Austrians, he won battle after battle, and by July was master of Italy. Austria, however, clung stubbornly to her Italian provinces; and during the following year, four fresh armies were sent from the Rhine to the Po, only to meet destruction. In October, 1797, Austria agreed to accept *Venice* from Bona-

¹ Austria at this time held a considerable part of northern Italy (§149).

parte, in exchange for *Lombardy* and *Belgium*, which she had lost, and war on the continent closed with the Peace of *Campo Formio*.

249. Bonaparte's Italian Policy. — To the Italians Bonaparte posed as a deliverer, and his large promises awoke in the peninsula the hope of new national life. Aristocratic Genoa became the *Ligurian Republic*, and the Po valley was made into the *Cisalpine Republic*, to which Bonaparte added the northern part of the Papal States. He swept away serfdom, the privileges of the nobles, and the forms of the old-fashioned Austrian government. He introduced civil equality and some political liberty. At the same time, however, with amazing perfidy, Napoleon tricked the independent state of Venice into war, seized it with a French army, and afterward coolly bartered it away to Austria.

Bonaparte levied enormous contributions upon even the friendly states, in order to enrich his soldiers and officers, to fill the coffers of France, and to bribe the Directory. His proclamation upon taking command of the army of Italy had been significant of much to come: —

“Soldiers, you are starving and in rags. The government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. I will lead you into the most fruitful plains of the world. Teeming provinces, flourishing cities, will be in your power. There you may reap honor and glory and wealth.”

Works of art, too, and choice manuscripts Bonaparte ravished



NAPOLEON AT THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLE

(From a painting by Gros.) At Arcole Napoleon, after three days of desperate fighting, defeated the Austrians in a decisive battle in November, 1796.

from Italian galleries and libraries and sent to Paris, to gratify French vanity. When the Italians rose against this spoliation, he stamped out the revolts with deliberate cruelty.

250. Napoleon Bonaparte the Man. — Napoleon was first brought into public notice by the Italian campaign. He was born in Corsica in 1769. His parents were of Italian ancestry, poor, but of good descent. In the year of Napoleon's birth Corsica became a possession of France. The boy passed through a French military school, and when the Revolution began, he was a junior lieutenant of artillery. The war gave him opportunity. He had distinguished himself at the capture of Toulon (§ 239) and, chancing to be in Paris at the time of the rising against the Directory, in 1795, he had been called upon to defend the government. In reward he was given, the next year, the command of the "Army of Italy."

Bonaparte was one of the three or four supreme military geniuses of history. He was also one of the greatest civil rulers. He had profound insight, a marvelous memory, and tireless energy. He was a "terrible worker," and his success was largely due to his wonderful grasp of a mass of details — so that he could recall the smallest features of geography where a campaign was to take place, or could name the man best suited for office in any one of a multitude of obscure towns. He was not insensible to generous feeling, but he was utterly unscrupulous, and deliberately rejected all bonds of the moral law. "Morality," he said, "has nothing to do with such a man as I am." Perfidy and cruelty, when they suited his ends, he used as calmly as appeals to honor and patriotism.

His success as a general lay largely in unprecedented rapidity of movement, and in massing his troops against some weak point of his adversary. "Our general," said his soldiers, "wins his victories with our legs." Moreover, the French army was superior to any army in Europe. Elsewhere military office came by birth or by purchase. In the Revolutionary armies of France, it came by merit and genius. All Napoleon's great

lieutenants had risen from the ranks. One of his most dashing generals (Jourdan) had been a tailor; another (Murat), a waiter. Napoleon always cherished this democratic character of the army. "Every soldier," he said, "carries a marshal's baton in his knapsack."

Bonaparte was probably a sincere republican in early life, but he learned to despise the anarchy and disorder of the Revolution. Before his campaign in Italy was over, he had begun to plan to make himself ruler of France. He worked systematically to transform the army's earlier ardor for the republic into a passion for military glory and plunder. He became the idol of the soldiery, and then used the military power to overthrow the civil authority.

Before Campo Formio he had said to a friend, "Do you suppose I conquer for the lawyers of the Directory? Do you think I mean to found a republic? What an idea! . . . The nation wants a head, a chief illustrious for great exploits; it does not care for theories of government. . . . The French want glory. As for liberty, of that they have no conception. . . . I am everything to the army. Let the Directory try to take the command from me, and they will see who is master."

251. The Expedition to Egypt. — After the Peace of Campo Formio Napoleon returned to Paris. He perceived at once that France was not yet ready to accept him as ruler; the hatred for the monarchy was still too keen. He realized, too, that he would sacrifice his prestige if he lived quietly like an ordinary person. As England alone was still at war with France, he asked the Directory to send him to Egypt, as a step toward attacking England's power in India. He had still another reason for undertaking the expedition. France was on the eve of new war with the continental powers. He hoped that during his absence the Directory would find itself so embarrassed that he might return as the only man who could save France, and thus it fell out.

In 1798 he sailed with a select army and a large number of scientists to Egypt. He won a series of brilliant battles there;

but suddenly his fleet was annihilated by the English under Nelson, in the Battle of the Nile, and his dreams of conquests in India faded away.

252. The Attack on the Papal States. — During Napoleon's absence the war had been renewed. In 1798 the Directory had brought about a change in the government of Switzerland and had organized that country as the Helvetic Republic after the pattern of the French Republic. Then it attacked the pope. Bonaparte, in its opinion, had dealt too leniently with him when he annexed papal territory to the Cisalpine Republic (§ 249). The government entertained a mortal hatred against Pius VI, who had committed the "crime" of protesting against the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and had received French exiles. A riot in Rome, purposely excited by the French ambassador, gave the Directory a pretext to march upon Rome (February, 1799). *The Roman Republic* replaced the Papal States and the aged and sickly Pius VI was brutally carried off to France, where he died shortly after. The Directory then carried out the usual republican program of robbery and confiscations. Other Italian rulers were similarly dispossessed and their states changed into republics.

253. Napoleon Overthrows the Directory. — The great powers of Europe were alarmed at these measures. England succeeded in drawing Russia and Austria into another coalition. War broke out again, and at first it favored the allies.

Bonaparte heard of these reverses and judged the time opportune for his plans. He deserted his doomed army in Egypt and escaped to France, where the French people welcomed him as a savior.

The Directory had proven itself disgracefully corrupt. For three years in succession — 1797, 1798, and 1799 — the elections had gone against it, but it had kept itself in power by a series of *coups d'état*,¹ or arbitrary interferences with the result of the voting.

¹ Literally, a "stroke of state." This is the name given in France to a forcible infraction of the constitution by some group with the intention of

Now Bonaparte used a *coup d'état* against the Directory. His troops purged the legislature of members hostile to his plans, and a remnant, made up of his adherents, abolished the Directory and elected Bonaparte and two friends as *consuls*, intrusting to them the preparation of a new constitution. "Now," said the peasantry, "we shall have peace, thanks to God and Bonaparte"; and by a vote of some three million to fifteen hundred the French people accepted the constitution (the third) (§ 255) that virtually made Bonaparte dictator. France was not really ready for the freedom she had so unexpectedly won by revolution. Anarchy and terrorism had so far been the only results of the great upheaval. There was needed a Bonaparte or some other military chief to bring order out of chaos.

seizing or retaining power. Happily the thing itself has been so unknown to English history that the English language has to borrow the French name. The attempt of Charles I to seize the five members (§ 109) was something of the sort. The coming century was to see many a *coup d'état* in France; and like phenomena have been common in other European countries.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CONSULATE, 1799-1804

254. Napoleon Brings Peace and Victory. — Bonaparte's first work as consul was to defeat foreign foes. In 1800 he won the great battle of *Marengo* over the Austrians in Italy, and General Moreau crushed another Austrian army in Bavaria at *Hohenlinden*. Austria and Russia made peace; and two years later the *Peace of Amiens* (1802) closed the war between France and England. For two years the world was free from war. Napoleon appeared a conqueror, with dazzling victories, and also the restorer of the long-desired peace.

255. The Third Constitution. — The Consulate was confirmed by the Constitution of the Year VIII (1800). The government was to rest on manhood suffrage, but that suffrage was to be "refined by successive filtrations." The adult males, some five million in all, were to choose one tenth of their number; the five hundred thousand "Communal Notables," so chosen, were in turn to choose one tenth of their number; these fifty thousand "Departmental Notables" were to choose five thousand "National Notables."

This complicated voting did not elect any one to office but only settled eligibility. *The executive was to appoint* communal officers at will out of the Communal Notables, departmental officers out of the Departmental Notables, and members of the legislature and other chief officers out of the National Notables.

The legislature was to be of four chambers, each with its own peculiar function: a Council of State to prepare bills, a Tribune to discuss them without right to vote, a Legislative Chamber to vote upon them without right to discuss, and a Senate with power to veto.



EUROPE AT THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1802)

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300 400

(To Eng.)

10

U.S. GOVERNMENT, N.Y.

Sieyès (§ 199), the consul who planned this constitution, had intended to break up the executive in like manner into one consul for war, another for peace, and a "Grand Elector" who should appoint the consuls and other great officials, but should then have no part in the government. Here Napoleon intervened. He was willing to accept a system of elections that never elected anybody, and a legislature that could not legislate, but he changed the shadowy "Grand Elector" into a *First Consul*, with all other parts of the constitution subject to his will.

Bonaparte became First Consul. His colleagues, the other two consuls, as he put it, were "merely counselors whom I am expected to consult, but whose advice I need not accept." Directly, or indirectly, he himself filled all offices, and no law could even be proposed without his sanction.

256. Centralization of the State. — For each department Napoleon appointed a prefect, and for each subdistrict a subprefect. Even the forty thousand mayors of towns and villages were appointed by the First Consul or by his agents, and held office at his will; "nor did there exist anywhere independent of him the authority to light or repair the streets of the meanest village in France."

This new administration was vigorous and fearless; and under Napoleon's energy and genius, it conferred upon France great and rapid benefits. Yet, in the long run, the result was to be disastrous. The chance for Frenchmen to train themselves at their own gates in the duties and responsibilities of freemen by sharing in the local government, was lost; and the habit of depending upon an all-directing central power was fixed even more firmly than before in their minds.

257. Napoleon's Policy toward the Church. — Within France Bonaparte used his vast authority to restore order and heal strife. Jacobins were welcomed to office and favor, and a goodly number of these "heroes of liberty" became servile tools of the new despotism. Royalist emigrants, too, were permitted to

return to France, but many of them refused to associate with the upstart Bonaparte.

The First Consul then set to work to reconcile the Catholics to his régime. Personally indifferent to all religions, Bonaparte was too shrewd not to realize that he could not reëstablish civil order without the Catholic religion which the majority of Frenchmen professed. After paving the way by acknowledging the independence of the Papal States, he opened negotiations with Pope Pius VII.

After prolonged debates a new arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs in France was agreed upon between Bonaparte and the Holy See. This was the famous *Concordat* which, substantially, remained in force till 1905 (§ 430). The free and public exercise of the Catholic religion was guaranteed, subject, however, to such police regulations as public safety, in the judgment of the government, might demand. The bishops were to be nominated by the Consul, and the pope was formally to install them. The exiled nonjuring bishops as well as the constitutional bishops were to resign and new ones were to be appointed. For the sake of peace Pius VII did not insist on the restoration of the confiscated church property, and Bonaparte pledged himself to make suitable provision for the maintenance of the clergy. The old republicans fiercely opposed this peace with the pope, and, to pacify them, Napoleon published, together with the Concordat, a series of "organic articles," designed to put the Church completely under control of the state.

258. The Code of 1804. — Napoleon now took up the work of the Convention of 1793 which had been dropped by the Directory. Public education was organized, but the whole system was made entirely dependent on the control of the First Consul. Corruption and extravagance in the government gave way to order and efficiency. Law was simplified, and justice was made cheaper and easier to secure.

This last work was the most enduring and beneficent of all. The Convention had begun to reform the outgrown absurdities

of the confused mass of French laws. The First Consul now completed the task. A commission of great lawyers, working under his direction and inspiration, swiftly reduced the vast chaos of old laws to a marvelously compact, simple, symmetrical code.

This body of law included the new principles of equality born of the Revolution. It decreed equality before the law, emancipation of serfs, trial by jury, and religious toleration. It soon became the basis of law for practically all Europe, except Austria, England, Russia, and Turkey. From Spain it spread to all Spanish America, and it lies at the foundation of the law of the State of Louisiana. Napoleon himself declared, after his overthrow, "Waterloo will wipe out the memory of my forty victories; but that which nothing can wipe away is my Civil Code. That will live forever."

259. Material Improvements. — The material side of society was not neglected. The depreciated paper money (§ 218) was restored to a sound basis, and industry of all kinds was encouraged. Paris was made the most beautiful city of Europe and was given an excellent water supply. The narrow streets were widened into magnificent boulevards; parks and public gardens were provided; while here and there rose triumphal arches and columns. Roads, canals, and harbors were built, and old ones were improved. Most important of all, the economic gain of the peasants in the Revolution (§ 208) was preserved. The peasantry were landowners, free from their old burdens; and workmen secured two or three times the wages they had received ten years before. Under such conditions the people displayed new energies, and, with the establishment of quiet and order, they quickly built up a vast material prosperity.

We sum up Napoleon's effect on the Revolution: He destroyed *political liberty*; but he preserved *equality before the law*, along with the economic gains from the Revolution to the working classes. The burden of taxation was made to rest with fair justice upon all classes. The peasant paid not four fifths of his income in taxes, as before the Revolution, but about one fifth; and he got much more in return than before.

In all this reconstruction the controlling mind was that of the First Consul. Functionaries worked as they had worked for no other master. Bonaparte knew how to set every man the right task; and his own matchless activity (he sometimes worked twenty hours a day) made it possible for him to oversee countless designs. His penetrating intelligence seized the essential point of every problem, and his indomitable will drove through all obstacles to a quick and effective solution. His ardor, his ambition for France and for glory, his passion for good work, his contempt for difficulties, inspired every official, until, as one of them said, "the gigantic entered into our habits of thought."

But the benefits that Bonaparte conferred upon France were the work of a beneficent despotism, not of a free government. He worked as a Joseph II (§ 171) of greater ability might have done. Bonaparte was the last and greatest of the benevolent despots. It was soon plain that he meant to seize the outer trappings of royalty as well as its power.

CHAPTER XX

THE FRENCH EMPIRE

THE GOVERNMENT OF NAPOLEON

260. Napoleon I. — In the third year of the Consulate, 1802, Bonaparte had himself elected Consul for life with the right to appoint his successor. He set up a brilliant court, with all the forms of monarchy, and purged the constitution of its democratic features. Then, taking advantage of several conspiracies, partly engineered by Bonaparte's secret police, he removed several dangerous rivals. To cap all, in 1804 he obtained the vote of the nation declaring him *Emperor of the French*. In a magnificent ceremony at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, he solemnly crowned himself, December 2, as the successor of Charlemagne, in presence of Pope Pius VII. The latter had, after much hesitation, consented to be present at the ceremony, in the hope of promoting the interests of religion in France, and especially of obtaining the recall of the "organic articles" (§ 257). But his hopes were disappointed.

261. Theory of the Empire. — Napoleon always claimed that he ruled by the will of the people, and each assumption of power was given a show of approval by a popular vote, the plebiscite. But the plebiscite was merely the nation's Yes or No to a question framed by the master. The results of a No could never be foreseen, and it was easy to shape the question so that men would rather say Yes than risk the unknown consequences of saying No. At no time did the nation have any share in shaping the question upon which it was to vote, and even the vote itself was controlled largely by skillful coercion.

However, there can be no doubt that the large majority of Frenchmen favored the new monarchy. It assured them peace and security at home after the turmoil of the First Republic, and it flattered their national vanity by its victories abroad. The plebiscite was a thin veil for military despotism, but it catered in a measure to the revolutionary principles by securing the formal consent of the nation. Said Napoleon: "The first representative of the nation is the Emperor; for all authority is derived from God and the nation. . . . All authority is vested in the Emperor, since by the will of God he is the sole representative of the Sovereign People."

262. Personal liberty was no longer safe. Napoleon maintained a network of secret police and spies, and he sent thousands of men to prison or into exile by his mere order. The press was subjected to stern and searching censorship. No book could be published if it contained opinions offensive to the emperor, even in matters only slightly related to politics.¹ Newspapers were forbidden to print anything "contrary to the duties of subjects." They were required to omit all news "disadvantageous or disagreeable to France," and in political matters they were allowed to print only such items as were furnished them by the government. Moreover, they were required to praise the administration. "Tell them," said Napoleon, "I shall judge them not by the evil they say, but by the good they do not say."

Even the schools were made to preach despotism, and were commanded to "take as the basis of their instruction fidelity to the Emperor." Religion, too, was pressed into service. Every village priest depended, directly or indirectly, upon Napoleon's will, and was expected to inculcate loyalty to the emperor. A catechism was devised expressly to lay stress on the duties of the people to Napoleon.

¹ Madame de Staël was not allowed to say that the drama of *Iphigenia* by the German Goethe was a greater play than the work of the French Racine upon the same plot.

THE WARS OF NAPOLEON

263. The Empire meant war. In 1802 Napoleon told his Council of State that he should welcome war and that he expected it. Europe, he declared, needs a single leader, an emperor, to distribute the various kingdoms among his lieutenants.



ARC DE TRIOMPHE DU CARROUSEL, PARIS

This triumphal arch commemorates Napoleon's victories of 1805-1806. It is a copy of the Arch of Constantine in Rome.

He felt, too, that victories and military glory were needful to keep the French nation from murmuring against his despotism. Moreover, other nations realized that there could be no lasting peace with Napoleon except on terms of absolute submission. Under such conditions war soon broke out afresh. England and France came to blows again in 1803, and there was no more truce between them until Napoleon's fall (1815). During the next eleven years Napoleon also fought several continental

coalitions in which he met Austria three times and Russia and Prussia twice. He also engaged in a long war with Spain and in various minor conflicts.

The wars we have so far studied, from 1792 to 1802, belong to the period of the French Revolution proper. Though Bonaparte played the principal part in bringing them to a successful



VENDÔME COLUMN

This memorial was made from cannons captured at Austerlitz. On top stands a statue of Napoleon.

issue, they were not of his making. But the struggles from 1803 to 1815 are Napoleonic wars, due primarily to the reckless ambition of one great military genius. Among the opponents of Napoleon England holds the first place, not indeed on the battlefield, but in the councils of his enemies, whom she supported indirectly by her control of the seas and directly by her vast financial resources.

264. Ulm, Trafalgar, and Austerlitz.—Napoleon had determined upon an invasion of England, and when war with that country broke out he assembled a mighty flotilla and a magnificent army at Bou-

logne on the English Channel. England trembled for her insular safety, but suddenly Napoleon ordered his vast army to the eastern front. Austria and Russia (under Tsar Alexander I) had concluded an alliance with England and, thinking the moment favorable, had opened hostilities. With marvelous rapidity Napoleon rushed his contingents to the Danube and, before his designs were guessed, completely surrounded an Austrian army at *Ulm* and forced it to capitulate.

A few days later, however, the news of serious disaster reached him. The British Admiral Nelson had met Napoleon's fleet off *Cape Trafalgar* (near Cádiz, Spain) and destroyed it. If Napoleon had still cherished the idea of an invasion of England, it was now shattered forever. Undeterred by this disaster, the French emperor pushed ahead into the very heart of Austria and entered Vienna. Thence he turned north into Bohemia, met the combined Austrian and Russian armies at *Austerlitz* (December 2, 1805), and won over them one of his most brilliant victories. Austria was forced to sign a humiliating peace, in which she surrendered her Venetian territory in Italy (§ 248), the Tyrol, and a few minor possessions.

265. Defeat of Prussia and Russia. — Despite the Austerlitz disaster Russia continued the war. She found a new ally in *Prussia*. The latter had ever since 1795 kept neutral, but now, by Napoleon's double-dealing, was forced into war. At first he had kept her out of a coalition with England by a promise of Hannover, then still under the sovereignty of the king of England. Now, without consulting the Prussian government, he offered Hannover to England in exchange for Sicily. The Prussian people were, moreover, aroused by the treacherous seizure and execution of a peaceful citizen, who had published a pamphlet against Napoleon, and by violations of Prussian territory on the part of the French troops. It was the people who forced the government into a declaration of war. But no Frederick the Great commanded the Prussian army. At *Jena* Napoleon inflicted a decisive defeat upon it (October 14, 1806). Berlin was speedily taken and the Prussian king forced to flee eastward. There his army was joined by his belated Russian ally. Napoleon followed through snow and ice on almost impassable roads. After a bloody but indecisive battle at Eylau the French won a complete victory at *Friedland* in the following June. The Russian emperor Alexander then decided to make peace.

266. The Peace of Tilsit, 1807. — Napoleon dealt harshly with Prussia, but he demanded hardly any sacrifices from

Russia. Thenceforth the western boundary of Prussia was to be the Elbe River. Her former territory to the west of that river was made into the *Kingdom of Westphalia* and given to Napoleon's brother *Jerome*.¹ In the east, Prussia had to cede what she had acquired in the second and third partitions of Poland (§ 173), out of which Napoleon created the *Duchy of Warsaw* for his ally, the king of Saxony. Heavy indemnities and the continued presence of strong French garrisons reduced Prussia to abject helplessness.

267. The Continental System. — During the negotiations at Tilsit the young Tsar Alexander was so impressed by Napoleon's genius that from an enemy he became a friend and ally. The two emperors made an agreement by which France was to rule western Europe, and Russia might aggrandize herself at the expense of Sweden and Turkey. The two powers were to unite against England to ruin that country by shutting off her commerce from the continent.

After the destruction of his fleet at Trafalgar, Napoleon had to make another plan for ruining his most persistent antagonist. A scheme to add the Danish fleet to his own failed because the British struck first. A powerful British squadron appeared, without declaration of war, before Copenhagen, bombarded the city, and carried off the Danish fleet. Denmark, thereupon, threw herself into Napoleon's arms. The *Continental Blockade*, which Napoleon then established, closed all ports of France and allied countries to English commerce. Napoleon stirred French scientists to desperate efforts to invent substitutes for the products shut out from the continent. To some extent they succeeded. Thus, for instance, when the English cruisers prevented the importation of West India cane sugar, it was dis-

¹ Jerome had lived in Baltimore, where in 1803 he contracted a lawful marriage with a Miss Patterson. Later, on Napoleon's command, he abandoned her and returned to France. Pius VII refused to annul his American marriage. Napoleon then annulled it and ordered his brother to marry a German princess.

covered that sugar could be made from a kind of beet, and the raising of sugar-beets became a leading industry of France.

Although this *Continental System* did inflict damage upon England, it did even greater harm to the continent, which simply could not do without the manufactures of England, then the workshop of Europe. It affected the personal comfort of millions. Smuggling, bribery, evasions of every sort, practiced or connived at by officials high and low, not excepting Napoleon's brothers, rendered it largely unavailing. At times even the French armies had to be clothed in English goods, and in 1812 they marched into Russia in English shoes. England's retort to the Continental System was an attempt to blockade the coast of France and her dependencies to all neutral vessels. In these war measures both France and England ignored the rights of neutral states; and one result was the War of 1812 in America — a story that does not need telling here.

On the other side, Napoleon's attempts to enforce the blockade led him from one high-handed measure to another, until Portugal and Russia rose against him, and so gave central Europe another chance to win freedom.

268. The Peninsular War. — *Portugal* refused to confiscate English vessels in her ports. Thereupon Napoleon, after promising Spain a division of Portugal, a promise he never intended to keep, marched his armies through Spain into Portugal and occupied that country. Shortly afterward, taking advantage of a family quarrel in the royal house of Spain, he deposed the Bourbon dynasty (§ 149) there and placed his own brother *Joseph* on the Spanish throne.

This was too much for the proud and patriotic Spaniards, who rose against the tyrant.

Here Napoleon had to deal with a new force. Hitherto his victories had been over the hired troops of autocratic rulers, and he had dictated peace when the rulers were in his power. Now, for the first time, he had to fight a people in arms. As usual he won several brilliant victories. But they merely trans-

ferred the struggle from one quarter to another. Organized bands under independent leaders attacked the French wherever they found them. The War in the Peninsula was a severe strain on his resources. England seized the opportunity, too; and sent supplies and an army under her best general, *Arthur Wellesley* (later *Duke of Wellington*), to support the peninsular revolt. Napoleon himself returned to France, giving the command of his troops to others, but the struggle continued to the end of his career. Long after, at St. Helena, he declared that it was really the Spanish war that ruined him.

269. War with Austria Again, 1809. — The rising of the Spaniards encouraged the emperor of Austria, Francis I, to attempt the recovery of his lost possessions (§ 264) and to extricate himself from his perilous position between two powerful foes, France and Russia. On April 6, 1809, he declared war. The people of Austria answered his appeal with eager enthusiasm, but the rest of the German states kept aloof. Only the faithful Tyrolese mountaineers under the leadership of the noble peasant, *Andreas Hofer*, rose to fight for reunion with their beloved Hapsburg rulers.

Napoleon's military genius, however, speedily crushed these newly awakened hopes for liberty. In a series of encounters he forced his way down the Danube and again entered the city of Vienna. Meanwhile the scattered Austrian detachments had gathered in Bohemia under Archduke Charles and were advancing toward Vienna. In the battle of *Aspern*, just opposite Vienna, Napoleon suffered his first defeat, though he retired in good order (May 22). The hopes awakened in his enemies by this victory forced Napoleon to exert himself to the utmost. On July 6 the great armies met once more on the plains of *Wagram*, and after a desperate struggle the French won the day. In the peace of Vienna Austria lost more territory. The greater part of what the Hapsburgs had annexed in partitions of Poland now went to the Duchy of Warsaw (§ 266) and a smaller portion to Russia. Her entire Adriatic coast was formed into a

new state, the Illyrian Provinces, with a French marshal as sovereign. The brave Tyrolese continued the hopeless fight for some time, only to be completely defeated and enslaved. Their leader, Hofer, was treacherously captured and shot.

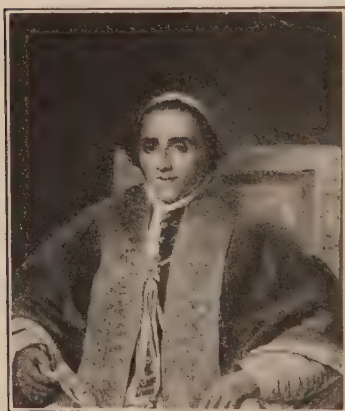
270. Divorce of Josephine. — The proud conqueror then inflicted another humiliation on the Hapsburgs by his demand for the hand of *Maria Louisa*, the daughter of Francis I. Napoleon was anxious for an heir to perpetuate his dynasty. His first wife, Josephine, had borne him no children. He therefore pretended to have scruples about the validity of his marriage. The only authority competent to give a decision in the matter was the pope, at that time a prisoner of Napoleon (§ 271). Napoleon did not wish to submit the question to such an impartial tribunal, but instead laid the case before a court of servile ecclesiastics in Paris. This body slavishly complied with the wishes of the tyrant and pronounced his union with Josephine null and void, because he had not married her before the proper witnesses.¹ The marriage with Maria Louisa was then solemnly performed in the church of Notre Dame in Paris. The Catholic Church of course cannot be held responsible for the complaisance of a few state-controlled ecclesiastics. This union of the revolutionary upstart with a princess of one of the oldest houses of Europe marks in some respects the summit of Napoleon's power.

271. The Boundaries of Europe under Napoleon. — The Spanish campaign, though not successful, seemed at the time

¹ The marriage ceremony with Josephine had been performed twice; once in 1796 before a civil magistrate, and a second time in 1804 on the eve of Napoleon's coronation. Both are of doubtful validity, the first because it was not contracted before a priest, and the second because Napoleon does not seem to have had the intention of giving his consent for a permanent union. Catholic authors, however, are not in agreement on these two points. At any rate, the union with Maria Louisa was unlawful, because the previous marriage had not been declared invalid by the proper authority, the Holy See. See the excellent account in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* under "Napoleon." The marriage case will form a good subject for a special report.

trivial. After Wagram Napoleon was supreme in central Europe. This period was marked by sweeping changes in territory, the most important of which may be grouped under four heads.

a. *The Batavian Republic* (§ 247) was converted into the *Kingdom of Holland*, with Napoleon's brother Louis as sovereign. Later, when Louis refused to ruin his people by enforcing



POPE PIUS VII

the Continental System rigidly, Napoleon deposed him and annexed Holland to France, along with the whole north coast of Germany as far as Denmark.

b. In Italy the *Cisalpine Republic* (§ 249) was changed into the *Kingdom of Italy*, with Napoleon himself as king and his stepson Eugene as viceroy. It included part of the Tyrol and a number of petty Italian states. In the south, Napoleon's brother Joseph

ruled as *King of Naples*, and after his transfer to the Spanish throne (§ 268) he was succeeded by Marshal Murat. The rest of Italy was made part of France.

This latter change involved, of course, the abolition of the *Papal States*. Already before 1809 the ambition of Napoleon had brought him into conflict with Pius VII. The common father of Christendom could not join the Continental System nor give his sanction to the *organic articles* of the Concordat, nor dissolve the bonds of matrimony between Jerome Bonaparte and his American wife (note to § 266). In 1808 Napoleon ordered Rome to be occupied by French troops. The next year, from conquered Vienna, he issued a decree abolishing the Papal States. Thereupon Pius VII excommunicated the French

emperor. Napoleon made light of this act of the pope; ¹ nevertheless he ordered the aged pontiff to be carried off to France, where he was kept prisoner until Napoleon's downfall.

c. *The Illyrian Provinces* were made a French dependency (§ 269).

d. Most radical of all were the *changes in Germany*. On account of their far-reaching consequences they merit treatment in a special section.

272. Condition of Germany before Napoleon. — Until the invasions of Napoleon, Germany as a political unit hardly existed. Instead the lands inhabited by the Germans consisted of very many more or less independent states, both large and small, lay and ecclesiastical. As we have seen, their union into one empire was, ever since the Peace of Westphalia (§ 81), scarcely more than nominal, as the emperor (nearly always a member of the Hapsburg house) had little real authority outside his own hereditary lands. This Holy Roman Empire, as it was still called, was made up of

(1) two great states, Austria and Prussia — nearly half of the area of each inhabited by non-German peoples;

(2) some thirty states of the second rank, like Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg;

(3) about two hundred and fifty petty states of the "third order" (many of them ruled by a bishop or abbot). Here we may place the *free cities of the empire*, that is, cities that acknowledged no authority but that of the emperor. Many of these states were very small, about one third of them having an area of not more than twelve square miles;

(4) some fifteen hundred *knights of the empire*, whose territories averaged less than three square miles each.

Most of these states, large and small, were absolute monarchies

¹ "What does the pope expect from denouncing me to Christendom? Does he imagine that their arms will fall from the hands of my soldiers?" was the sneering remark of Napoleon. Three years later the weapons literally fell from the hands of his soldiers in the snows of Russia.

or aristocracies. Each made its own laws, had its own courts, its own army, and even its own customs duties. To add to the confusion, few of these principalities had their territory compact; most of them were broken up into several fragments. Some of them were wholly inside a larger state to which politically they had no relation.

273. German States Consolidated. — Napoleon had begun his reorganization of Germany in the Peace of Campo Formio (§ 248), when the French boundary was advanced to the Rhine.

(1) A large number of German rulers west of the Rhine were by that treaty deprived, wholly or in part, of their territory. Afterward the lay princes were indemnified for their losses by ecclesiastical estates and the territories of the free cities. The settling of the various claims took over two years. The negotiations were conducted nominally by a committee of delegates from the empire, in reality by Napoleon himself. During this time ambassadors of German princes and princelings continually haunted the antechambers of Napoleon, and flattered and bribed French officials to obtain additional slices of land. As a rule they received more than they lost. When the work was finally done, the excessively large number of German states was reduced to about fifty (later to thirty-eight), and the ecclesiastical principalities had disappeared altogether.

(2) After Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram (§§ 264, 266, 269) more radical changes followed. Austria and Prussia were weakened. The first became an inland state, the second was halved and pushed altogether beyond the Elbe, while its recent Polish acquisitions were turned into the Duchy of Warsaw. Besides reducing these two great states, Napoleon proceeded to put a further check upon them by augmenting the states of the second rank. Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony were made into kingdoms, with their territories enlarged at the expense of Austria and smaller neighboring states; while the Kingdom of Westphalia was formed out of Prussian territory and the electorate of Hannover for Napoleon's brother Jerome (§ 266).

(3) Nearly all these German states, except Prussia and Austria, were leagued into the "Confederation of the Rhine," with Napoleon as "Protector," with whom the confederation was forced to make a defensive and offensive alliance and agree to furnish an army of 63,000 men.

(4) These rearrangements amounted to a *dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire*, which had existed for nearly a thousand years. Francis II, to save his imperial title, had already in 1804 proclaimed himself hereditary *Emperor of Austria* under the name of Francis I. In 1806, when Napoleon set up the Confederation of the Rhine, Francis formally resigned every claim to the empire, declaring that he considered the Austrian provinces completely separated from the former imperial territory.

274. Results of Napoleon's German Policy. — By thus simplifying the map of Germany, Napoleon undoubtedly conferred some benefits upon the people of central Europe. The reduction of the number of states paved the way for future national union by making the people more conscious of their common nationality. To be sure, such an outcome was far from Napoleon's intentions. Much was gained, too, by the abolition of feudal inequalities and the introduction of a simpler and cheaper administration of justice.

On the other hand the people had to pay dearly for these advantages. Many who had cried out against the abuses of the old empire now felt the heavy hand of military despotism. While the princes reveled in their newly acquired possessions, the people groaned under the war taxes and the insolence of the French soldiery. Clearly, true liberty could not come to them from Napoleon.

275. Reform in Prussia. — In the Confederation of the Rhine new methods and improvements, both political and military, were introduced by French agents or under French influence. In Prussia reform came from a Prussian minister, and its purpose was to make Prussia strong enough to cast off the yoke of

Napoleon. Jena had proved that the old Prussian system was utterly out of date. Civil administration as well as military organization needed a thorough reform. Happily, the men fit to undertake the task were not wanting.

The Baron vom Stein introduced important changes in civil life while General Scharnhorst reorganized the army. The aim of both men was to give the whole people a share in public affairs



NAPOLEON

This portrait was painted near the close of his rule.

and thus fit Prussia for leadership in freeing and uniting all Germany. The serfs were made free landowners. Freedom of commerce and of choice of occupation was granted to all classes. The cities, until now ruled by royal appointees, received free local government. In the army, the career of officer was thrown open to all, while universal military service and the abolition of foreign mercenaries made the army truly national.

At the same time the people themselves began to be animated by a new spirit of hope. The romanticists, a new school of writers, infused an ardent patriotism into the masses by recalling the glory of the nation's past. Others worked for the moral and religious reawakening of the people. By these methods much of what was really commendable in the French Revolution was introduced quietly, without bloodshed and gross injustice.

276. The Napoleonic Empire. — In 1810 Napoleon's power had reached its widest limits. The huge bulk of France filled the space from the Atlantic to the Rhine, including not only the France which we know, but also Belgium, parts of Switzerland, and large strips of German territory. In addition, from this central body two curving arms reached out, one in the

north along the North Sea to the Danish peninsula, and the other in the south down the coast of Italy past Rome. This vast territory was all organized into French departments. The rest of Italy and half of the rest of Germany were under Napoleon's "protection," and were ruled by his appointees. Denmark and Switzerland, too, were his dependent allies, while Prussia and Austria were unwilling ones. Only the extremities of the continent kept their independence, and even there, Sweden and Russia were his friends. Napoleon ruled more of Europe than any other monarch had ruled since Charlemagne. The one great power that remained aloof was Great Britain.

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON

277. Russia Breaks the Alliance. — Russia was growing hostile. Alexander I saw in Napoleon's family alliance with Austria (§ 270) a menace to his predominance in the North and East. Moreover, he looked upon the erection of the Duchy of Warsaw as an attempt to restore the old kingdom of Poland, of which Russia had obtained the lion's share. The Continental System, too, weighed heavily upon Russian commerce. Russia needed English markets, and in 1811 the tsar refused longer to enforce the "System."

Napoleon at once declared war. Considering the vastness and the distance as well as the severe climate of the seat of war, the enterprise bordered on madness. But success and lust of power had so blinded the French emperor that he rushed headlong to his destruction. France, Italy, Germany, Holland, Poland, and Switzerland, all had to yield their levies to the "Grand Army," of over half a million men, a number unheard of in those days. In June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen and entered Russian soil. But instead of giving him a chance for a decisive battle, the Russians constantly retreated, destroying whatever they could not move. The difficulty of feeding the enormous host soon made itself felt. But Napoleon hurried on. Only once, at *Borodino*, just in front of their ancient capital, the

Russians made a stand. Once more Napoleon was victorious in a frightful battle, when 70,000 corpses covered the field.

At last he entered Moscow (September 14). The city was empty of soldiers, officials, and all citizens who were able to flee. Only a few desperate characters prowled about the streets. The weary soldiers had hoped for comfortable winter quarters. Suddenly in the night of the sixteenth flames arose from every



NAPOLEON'S RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

part of the city. The agents of the Russian commander had begun their work. Four days the fire raged and reduced most of the main buildings in the city to a heap of ashes. Strangely blind to the impending danger or perhaps hating to admit defeat, Napoleon remained five weeks longer, negotiating with the tsar for peace. The latter parleyed, merely to detain him and make sure of his destruction.

Finally, on October 19, the Grand Army began its retreat, constantly harassed by flying detachments of the enemy. Lack of provisions brought suffering. In November a frightful winter set in. Death reaped a rich harvest. Whole lines of soldiers sank into the snow. Artillery and baggage were abandoned. When crossing the Berezina, thousands found their graves in its

icy waters or fell into the hands of the merciless Cossacks. Only a small remnant, about 20,000 hollow-eyed, half-starved figures in rags, recrossed the Russian border. The Grand Army was buried in the Russian snows.

278. The Nations Rise. — The news of the disaster electrified the oppressed; the hour for liberty had struck. The enthusiasm of the Prussian people forced the timid king to declare war on Napoleon. University professors enlisted at the head of companies of their students; girls and women gave their jewels and ornaments to buy arms and supplies. In summer Austria, too, declared war. Napoleon had meantime hurried home from Russia, and by tremendous exertion raised a new army of boys and old men from exhausted France. With this he hastened back to Germany. For a while victory still clung to his imperial eagles, but in October, 1813, he met a crushing defeat in the murderous four-day battle of Leipzig.

279. From Leipzig to Paris. — Napoleon retreated across the Rhine. His vassal kings everywhere fled from their thrones, and most of the small states joined his enemies. England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria took to themselves the name *Allies* and maintained a perfect understanding. After Leipzig they proposed peace, offering to leave Napoleon his crown, with the Rhine for the boundary of France. Like a desperate gambler bound to win or lose all, Napoleon rejected these terms. The Allies then advanced to the Rhine, and again offered peace; Napoleon again refused. Then they invaded France at several points, with overwhelming numbers, and in spite of Napoleon's superb defense, entered Paris victorious in March, 1814.

280. The Peace of 1814. — The Allies made Napoleon a large allowance and granted him the island of *Elba* in the Mediterranean as an independent principality. The Bourbon heir to the throne, one of the emigrant brothers of Louis XVI, appeared, promised to accept a constitution framed by the Senate, and was quietly recognized by the French Senate as Louis XVIII.

The Allies avoided the appearance of imposing this ruler upon France, but they liked the arrangement. To make it popular, they granted liberal terms of peace. France kept her territory as before the Revolution. The Allies withdrew their armies without imposing any war indemnity, such as France had repeatedly exacted from other countries ; nor did they take back the works of art that the French armies had carried off from so many famous galleries of Europe.

PART V: THE PERIOD OF REACTION, 1815–1848

CHAPTER XXI

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA: REARRANGEMENT

281. Meeting of the Congress. — Napoleon had wiped away the old map of Europe, and now his map fell to pieces. All the lands which had been annexed to France since 1792, and all the states which had been created by Napoleon, were left without government. It was clear to everybody that such vast territories, inhabited by so many different people, could not be left under one head. Much of what Napoleon had done was highly artificial and against all traditions. Moreover, many of the dispossessed rulers clamored for restoration. Others wanted new acquisitions to pay for their exertions against Napoleon. To settle all these problems, the Allies, after the peace of Paris, invited all the sovereigns of Europe to a congress.

This congress assembled at Vienna in September, 1814. It was a brilliant assembly, such as the world had seldom seen, and Austria's ruler proved a munificent host to his distinguished guests. While the crowd of kings and smaller monarchs was entertained by a constant round of brilliant social functions and genial festivities, a few ministers and statesmen did the work behind closed doors, as is usually the case when any large body deliberates, and announced their conclusions to the congress for ratification.

282. The New Boundaries of Europe. — The territorial arrangements fall under four heads.

a. Italy had her old states restored, including the Papal States. Only the old Republic of Genoa, which was united

with Piedmont, disappeared. The original rulers, too, reoccupied their thrones.

b. The states along the French boundary were strengthened. Holland was made into the *Kingdom of the Netherlands*, under the House of Orange, and *Belgium*, the former Austrian Netherlands, was added to it, much against the wishes of the Belgians, — Austria “compensating” herself in northern Italy. The old German territory west of the Rhine was taken back from France and divided chiefly between Prussia and Bavaria. *Switzerland* again became independent and was to be forever neutral.

c. *Denmark*, the old ally of Napoleon, was forced to cede *Norway to Sweden*. This was really in the interest of Russia and Prussia; for, in return, Sweden ceded *Finland to Russia* and *Swedish Pomerania* (§ 81) to Prussia. Sweden herself now retired within the northern peninsula.

d. The thirty-eight German states were left largely as arranged by Napoleon, and continued under their old rulers.

There remained, however, the matter of other compensations to the Allies. England had incurred a heavy debt by acting as paymaster to Napoleon’s enemies. In partial recompense, she kept Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Cape Colony, Ceylon, and a few other colonial territories, mainly former Dutch colonies. This left England practically the sole colonial power. Alexander of Russia claimed his reward in *Poland*: he insisted that the Duchy of Warsaw (§ 273), exclusive of the province of Posen, which was given to Prussia, should be made into a new Poland, having its own constitution, but being under the personal sovereignty of the tsar.

Austria and Prussia had both been enlarged after the beginning of the French Revolution by the partitions of Poland (§§ 172, 173). Austria’s claims were easily satisfied. Of Polish territory the part annexed in the first partition remained under the Hapsburgs. In exchange for the Austrian Netherlands they accepted *Lombardy and Venice* together with the eastern Adriatic coast line. But on the matter of Prussian com-

pensation serious difficulties arose. Alexander promised to aid Prussia in obtaining the whole of Saxony in exchange for the Duchy of Warsaw. The king of Saxony had remained a faithful ally of Napoleon to the end, and so, Alexander urged, it would be proper to punish him for his attitude. Moreover, of all the Allies Prussia had suffered most from Napoleon's tyranny, and had made the greatest sacrifices in the War of Liberation. But Austria dreaded further extension of Prussia into the heart of Germany, and opposed the plan. England and France joined her, and the former Allies came to the verge of war. Finally, however, it was agreed that Prussia should have (1) the northern half of Saxony and (2) considerable German territory recovered from France west of the Rhine (see *b* above).

283. Napoleon Escapes from Elba. — Suddenly during these wranglings the news burst upon the congress that Napoleon had left Elba. Through secret agents he was informed about the dissensions in Vienna. In France, too, things seemed to be favorable to his return. Louis XVIII had in a short time managed to lose the loyalty of his subjects. The tricolor of the Revolution and Empire, under which Frenchmen had marched triumphantly into nearly every capital of Europe, was replaced by the white lilies of the Bourbons. Napoleonic officers of great merit were dismissed from the army. Louis swept aside the new constitution and introduced one of his own. Some extreme royalists who had just returned from exile began to talk of a restoration of confiscated property, though since 1792 it had passed through many hands. In short, it seemed as if the returned Bourbons intended to ignore altogether the tremendous changes of the last twenty-five years. "They had learned nothing and forgotten nothing," as Napoleon expressed it.

With this twofold dissension to spur on his hopes, Napoleon left Elba secretly with a force of about 1500 men. He landed on French soil, March 1, 1815, after being an exile for one year. One army after another, sent to capture him, went over to his standard, and in a few days he entered Paris, from which Louis

had fled the night before. Not a shot had been fired throughout his progress in France. At once he set to work with marvelous energy to reëstablish his power. Day and night work went on in the foundries and arsenals of the country to equip his army. He found, however, less enthusiasm among the civil population than among the soldiers. The wealthy classes,



NAPOLEON AT WATERLOO

especially, desired peace, and a Napoleonic régime meant war. His attempts to negotiate with the Allies in Vienna failed completely. The news of his escape silenced all quarrels, and the Allies declared war upon him as "the disturber of the peace of Europe."

284. Waterloo, June 18, 1815. — Resolved not to give his enemies time to concentrate their forces, Napoleon marched into Belgium with an army of 130,000 veterans. There the Prussians under Blücher were stationed along the Meuse River, and an English army under Wellington (§ 268) was encamped near Brussels. Napoleon threw himself first upon the Prus-

sians and defeated them. Another advanced detachment of the English was forced to retire to the main body.

After these initial successes Napoleon attacked Wellington at *Waterloo* near Brussels. On the morning of June 18 the decisive struggle began. Napoleon's troops fought with all their old bravery for their master, but the cool courage of the English soldiers and Wellington's imperturbable calm made all the fierce French attacks for a long time unavailing. Gradually, however, the English center began to waver. Wellington anxiously looked out for Blücher, who had promised to come. At last the Prussians appeared at the French flank. Faced with this new danger, Napoleon was unable to drive home his advantage against the English. In vain he sacrificed his Old Guard to a man. Wellington then gave the command for a general advance. The French retreated, and the Prussian cavalry turned the retreat into a rout. Napoleon was crushed.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

285. Second Treaty with France. — The Allies reentered Paris, "bringing Louis XVIII in their baggage," as the French wits put it. Napoleon was imprisoned on the distant volcanic island of *St. Helena*; and a peace more severe than that of the previous year was dictated to France. She had to restore the works of art, to cede Nice and Savoy to Sardinia, and other strips on her northern and eastern frontier. A war indemnity of 700 million francs was a partial payment for the robberies and exactions of the last twenty-five years. Prussia and Austria urged, too, the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine, which had been seized by Louis XIV, but Alexander of Russia and England insisted on milder punishment.

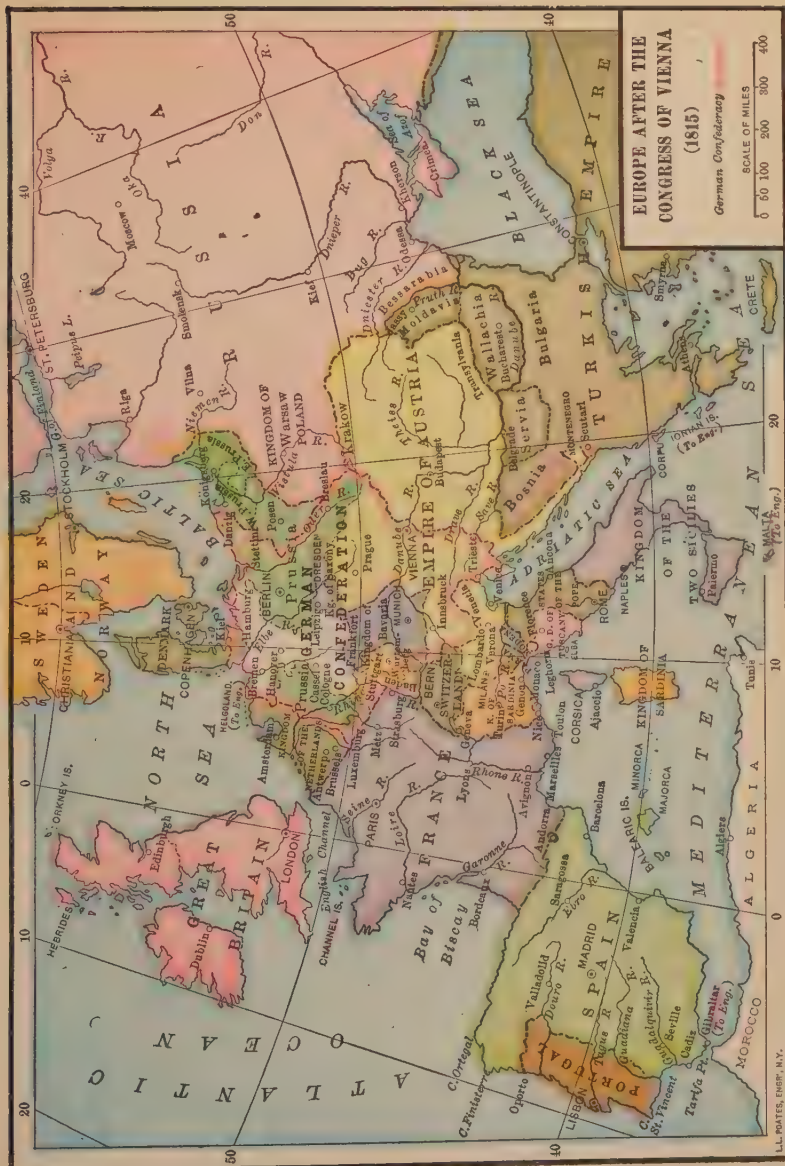
Napoleon spent the last six years of his life on his island prison in the Atlantic under the strict custody of his English guards. He whiled away the time with reading and dictating his memoirs. Towards the end he returned to the religious practices of his childhood. He died on May 5, 1821, having received the consolations of religion from a Catholic priest.

286. Results of the Congress. — During the hundred days of Napoleon's second empire the Congress of Vienna completed its work. Some of its later measures were highly praiseworthy. England persuaded the powers to join in a declaration against the slave trade. The navigation of rivers flowing through or between different countries was declared free to the commerce of all countries. And the powers guaranteed the permanent neutrality of Switzerland. That is, they agreed that in future wars no country should invade Switzerland or send troops through her territory.

Unfortunately, in many other matters the congress was remarkably shortsighted. It failed to realize what tremendous changes the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era had wrought in men's minds, and it was, consequently, unable to distinguish the good from the evil in these changes. To that "assemblage of princes and lackeys" the last twenty-five years were nothing but so much time of the past, and it resolved simply to undo everything that happened during this momentous period. The most serious blunders may be outlined as follows:

(1) The congress represented princes, not peoples; and in its work the demands of the people were ignored. Thus it put the Belgians under Dutch masters, the Poles under the Russians, the Venetians under the Austrians, in every case against the fierce resentment of the subjected peoples.

(2) The Revolution had everywhere evoked a demand on the part of the people for a share in the government. The men who shaped the destinies of Europe at the congress abhorred such a change from eighteenth century absolutism. To them participation of the people in public affairs was "Jacobinism."



(3) The Church had suffered frightfully during the revolutionary period. The congress made practically no amends, but left her to the tender mercies of the individual governments.

(4) One result of the congress was the so-called *Holy Alliance*, concluded shortly after its adjournment. Its original members, the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, obligated themselves to govern their respective states in accordance with Christian principles, to maintain the spirit of religion, charity, and harmony. Certainly a noble aim. Every state in Europe, except England, the Papal States, and Turkey, signed its articles. Soon, however, the Alliance¹ assumed the character of an international police force. For the next fifteen years it felt itself called upon to suppress every movement toward liberty, however moderate and just it might be. Yet the spirit of the Revolution could not be subdued by brute force. It could have been subdued by wise guidance into the proper channels, by evolving forms of government that would not exclude the coöperation of the people.

¹ The alliance that put down liberal movements in the various countries of Europe was, strictly speaking, not the Holy Alliance, but a special League of the Powers, growing out of the alliance against Napoleon. But the Holy Alliance soon merged into this special league, and thus it came that the name of the former is often applied to the latter.

CHAPTER XXII

CENTRAL EUROPE TO 1830

287. The immediate result of the Congress of Vienna was a victory for reaction and despotism. The restored legitimate rulers were received loyally in most states, and in some cases even enthusiastically. The downfall of Napoleon had been chiefly the work of the revived patriotism of the people, and now they expected greater political liberty and real reforms. Instead, the princes thought of nothing but the restoration of things as they had been before the Revolution. Soon the joy over the overthrow of the tyrant of Europe gave way to bitter disappointment and steadily growing discontent. Unfortunately, too, the despotism of the rulers drove many well-meaning friends of liberty into the arms of the extremists, to whom the Revolution in its worst aspects was acceptable.

The leader of these reactionary tendencies was Metternich. That subtle Austrian statesman largely guided the policy of Europe from 1815 to 1848. The decrees of Vienna were more his work than that of any other diplomat. He summed up his political creed thus: "Sovereigns alone are entitled to guide the destinies of their peoples, and they are responsible to none but God. Government is no more a subject of debate than is religion." He was, indeed, too shrewd to think it possible to return altogether to the prerevolutionary days, but he did strive to arrest all changes at the lines drawn by the Congress of Vienna. "The new ideas of democracy and nationality ought never to have been allowed to get into Europe," he said, "but since they are in, the business of the governments is to keep them down."

One of the fruits of the Revolution and the struggles of Napoleon was the strong *sentiment of nationality* they awakened. It tended to draw all people of the same traditions and speech into one political state. Hence the Germans desired to establish one German state, and the Italians to form a "United Italy." In a state comprising many peoples, like the Austrian Empire, the feeling of nationality was likely to be a disrupting force. Naturally, therefore, this new spirit of nationality found little favor with the Austrian statesman Metternich.

288. The Germanic Confederation. — Metternich's chief victory lay in the reorganization of Germany. Patriotic Germans, like Stein (§ 275), had hoped for a real union either in the revival or strengthening of the Empire or in a new strong confederation of German states. Lack of union, chiefly due to the religious division introduced by Protestantism, had been Germany's greatest misfortune for the last three centuries. Time and again foreign aggressors, like Richelieu, Mazarin (§ 144), Louis XIV, and especially Napoleon, had allied themselves with one or more German states against the others and had thus been able to lord it over them and rob them of valuable territories. The war of 1813-1814 had taught the German people the value of unity. "A general union of all Germans under a strong head, and a free parliament representing the entire German nation, is the common desire of all far-seeing men," said a German writer of that period.

Metternich, however, was opposed to a strong German confederation. He saw that in a true German state, Austria (with her Slav, Hungarian, and Italian interests) could not long keep the lead against Prussia. He preferred to leave the various states practically independent, so that Austria, the largest of them all, might play them off against one another, but especially against Prussia. The small rulers, too, were hostile to a real union, because these narrow and despotic princelings hated to give a tittle of their power for the common good. Metternich allied himself, in the Congress of Vienna, with these princes of

the small states, and won. The thirty-eight German states were organized into a *Germanic Confederation*, a loose league of sovereigns.¹ It included all the small states, all of Prussia except East and West Prussia, but only the German and Bohemian parts of Austria. Each state had its own government, its own army, its own tariffs, and its own foreign diplomacy. They even kept the right to form alliances with foreign powers — although they did promise not to make war upon one another.

The Confederation had no distinct executive and legislative departments. Its one organ was the Federal Diet at Frankfurt. This was merely a standing conference of ambassadors appointed by the sovereigns. The people had no representatives. The Austrian delegate presided, but no important action could be taken without the consent of every state. Before many years the Diet was the laughingstock of Europe. Practically Germany was as disunited as ever.

289. Seeds of the Future Germany. — Thus the hopes of the patriots for a strong united fatherland were shattered, a disappointment all the more galling because the War of Liberation of 1813 had been essentially a popular uprising. Nevertheless, the future was not altogether dark. As compared with the old Empire, the Confederation was in some points an improvement. Serfdom remained abolished, feudal rights were largely reduced. The smaller number of states simplified the problem of unification. Prussia in the North was now an almost entirely German state, well qualified to assume the leadership in future schemes of union. Her administration, though aristocratic, was honest and efficient.

In 1818 an apparently unimportant step was taken which did much to prepare the future German state. In that year Prussia abolished within its own territory all custom lines, and

¹ The term "confederation" is usually applied to a league of adjacent states in which the members retain nearly all their sovereign rights. A "federation" is a union of states under a strong "federal" legislature and executive.

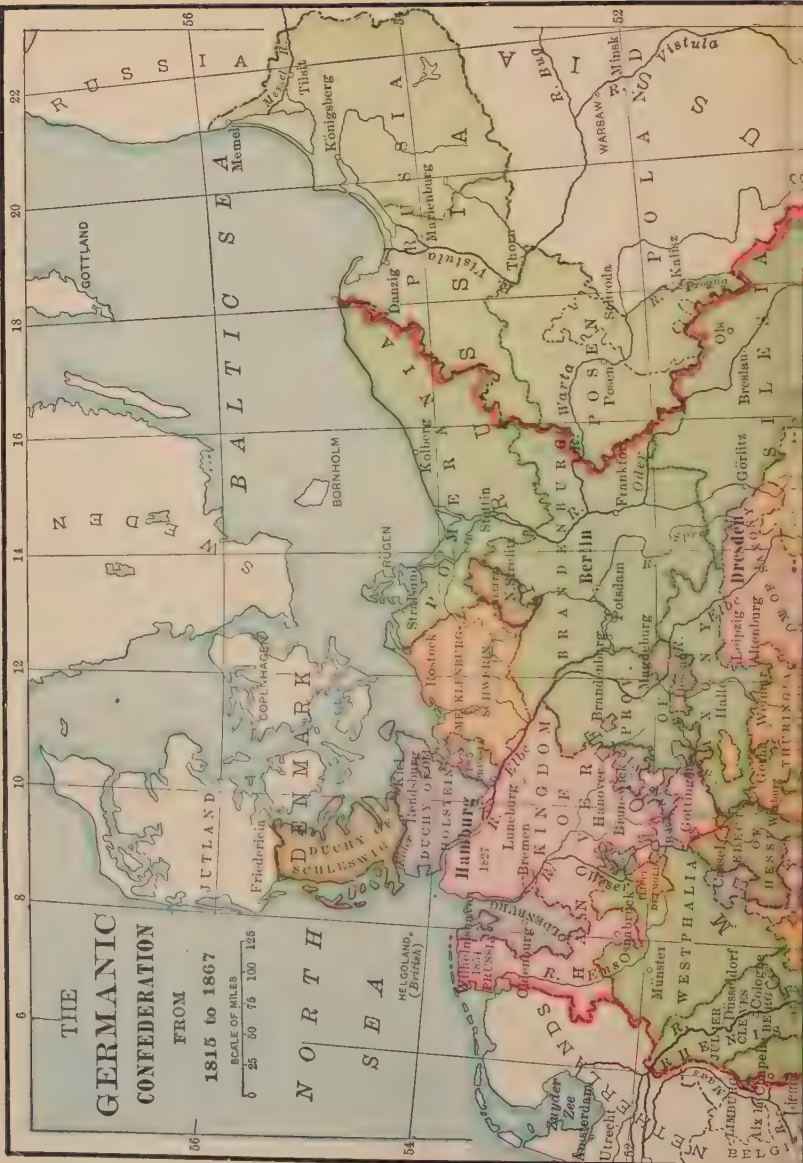
THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION

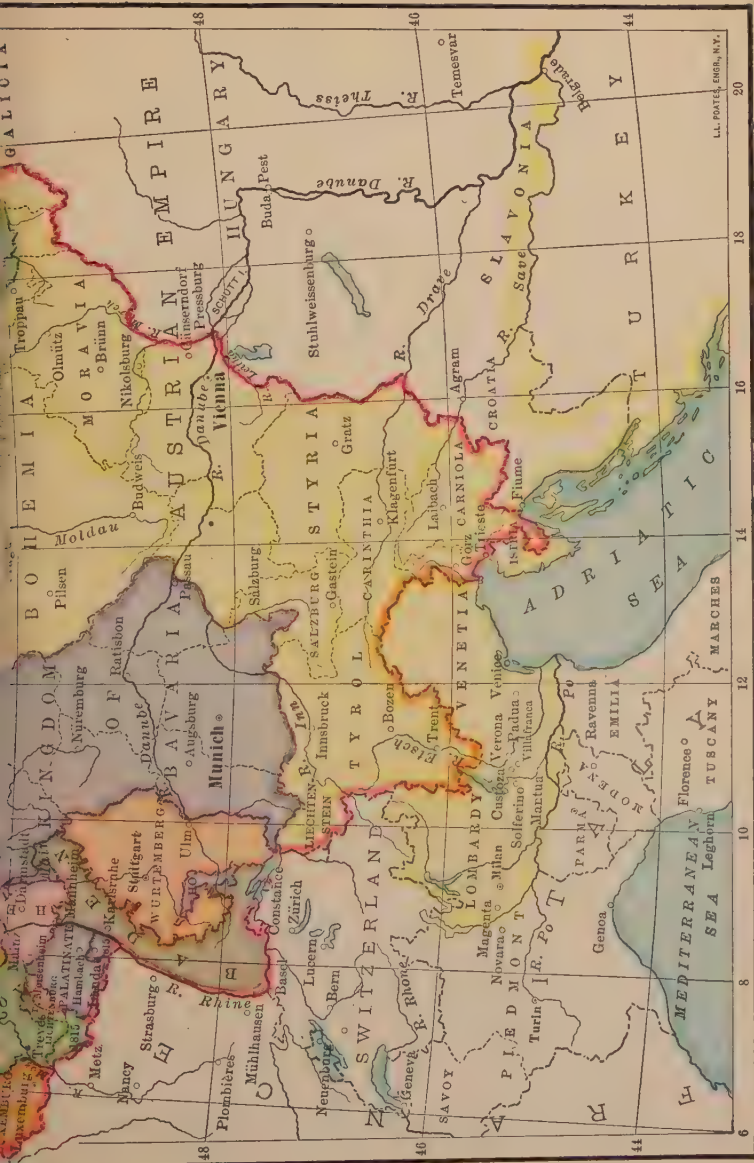
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L.L. POTTER, ENGR., N.Y.

proclaimed freedom of import and export, leaving only a small duty on foreign merchandise. This arrangement was gradually extended to other states of the Confederation, until in 1834 it included nearly all except Austria. This *Zollverein* (customs union), as it was called, made Germany one state commercially and kept alive the desire to make it one politically. It became the cradle of future unity.

290. The New Constitutions. — Though the chance for making a German nation had been lost at the Congress of Vienna, the progressive element still hoped for free political institutions in the separate states. Within the next four years several South German states, Württemberg, Baden, Bavaria, and others, granted constitutions. The people of these southern districts, on account of their proximity to France, had been greatly influenced by the Revolution, and their rulers granted constitutions chiefly in order to secure support of the people against possible attempts of Austria or Prussia upon their sovereignty. These constitutions left the princes still the real rulers, but they provided for equality of all classes before the law, for freedom of the press, and for representative assemblies with control over new taxes.

The king of Prussia, too, promised a constitution and appointed a committee to draw it up. But he was a weak, vacillating man, greatly influenced by the reactionary element among his advisers. The committee dawdled along for some years and, in the end, achieved nothing. The parties that clamored for a constitution had themselves very hazy ideas of what it should contain, and thereby defeated their own ends. Some real progress was made by introducing more system and uniformity into the administration, education, and the army.

291. Religious Policy in Germany. — The Catholic Church had lost all its lands when Napoleon reorganized Germany (§ 273, 1). The various states, after the Congress of Vienna, undertook to pay the salaries of the clergy and to maintain the buildings devoted to divine worship. But in the minds of the

reactionary statesmen of that period, the Church was to be the humble handmaid of the state, good enough to teach the people obedience to the princes, but not to enjoy her God-given freedom of action. In Prussia, especially, the ministers of the crown, in their desire to make everything subservient to the state, carried into effect the pernicious principle that the king is the source of all rights, political and religious, for Protestants and Catholics alike. Hence numerous restrictions were designed to curtail the liberty of the clergy in the exercise of their ministry. There were laws and decrees interfering with the education of the priests, with free intercourse between the bishops and the Holy See, and with the Catholic education of children of mixed marriages. Unfortunately, even some of the clergy became tools of absolutism and betrayed the interests of the Church.

Still, in spite of these measures, the first part of the nineteenth century witnessed everywhere in German lands a revival of religious fervor. Gifted Catholic laymen, like the brilliant Joseph von Görres, came out boldly in defense of the rights of the Church. When in 1837 the government of Prussia went so far as to arrest the archbishops of Cologne and Gnesen for their courageous defense of Catholic education, the excitement all over Germany grew so intense that the bureaucrats in Berlin had to beat a disgraceful retreat.

292. The Voice of the Liberals.—The triumph of the reactionaries did not entirely quell the liberal movement. The demand for greater political liberty was voiced chiefly by a small group of writers, students, and professors. A flood of pamphlets, proclamations, books, and periodicals tried to arouse the German people as well as the governments. Political agitation was especially intense at the universities. In October, 1817, the Jena students celebrated with great pomp the three-hundredth anniversary of Luther's break with the Church and the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. The Wartburg, a castle in the Duchy of Weimar, was the scene of their festivities, which assumed the character of a political demonstration. The

students sang patriotic songs, made a few ardent and foolish speeches, and in the evening threw some old textbooks into a bonfire — having first labeled them with the names of certain reactionary authors, especially hated by the liberal party.¹

Metternich took shrewd advantage of the childish demonstration to advise everywhere more stringent measures against the



WARTBURG CASTLE

liberal movement. Unhappily, Metternich's hand was strengthened by the crimes of some extreme enthusiasts. A small section of agitators preached that even assassination in the name of liberty was right, and, in 1819, a fanatical student murdered Kotzebue, a Russian representative in Germany, who was supposed to have induced the tsar to give up his liberal sympathies.

293. Karlsbad Decrees. — This fanatical act gave the reactionaries just the excuse they needed. Austria at once called the ministers of the leading states to a conference at Karlsbad. Led by Metternich, this conference passed a series of resolutions, which the former then forced through the Diet at Frank-

¹ It should be noted, however, that this patriotic propaganda sometimes proceeded from a false philosophy, which worshiped the strong self-assertive state as the highest goal of human endeavor.

furt. These *Karlsbad Decrees* were especially directed against free speech in the press and in the universities. They forbade secret student societies, established a close watch over the professors, and set up a rigid censorship of all printed matter. A standing committee to hunt down conspiracies was also created. The great Catholic writer Görres raised his voice against the princes who would not understand their people and their time, and against the extreme liberals who by their secret activity undermined all mutual confidence. But the voice of moderation remained unheeded, and he himself escaped arrest only by hasty flight.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE SOUTH OF EUROPE — REVOLUTIONS OF 1820

294. The Spanish Constitution of 1812. — The first serious attempts to reassert the principles of the Revolution occurred in the South of Europe. To understand them, we must turn back a moment to notice conditions in Spain. The Spanish patriots who rose against Napoleon in 1808 (§ 268) found themselves without a government. Their king was a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon. The insurgents improvised a representative assembly, the Cortes, and in 1812 adopted a liberal constitution. This *Constitution of 1812* was, however, largely the work of men imbued with the ideas of the French revolutionists. Though not without redeeming features, it was, on the whole, a failure. Like its model, the first French constitution, it restricted the executive so much that efficient government would have been almost impossible. The mass of the Spanish people did not approve of this new scheme of government, especially because it very seriously infringed on the rights of the Catholic Church, to which the majority of the Spaniards were passionately devoted.

295. The Spanish-American Revolution. — When Napoleon seized Spain the Spanish-American colonies refused to recognize him, and thus became virtually independent. At first most of the colonies professed loyalty to the legitimate Spanish king, but various causes were at work to sever completely the ties that bound them to the mother country. Since the suppression of the Jesuits (§ 191) the influence of Free-masonry had grown and helped to diminish fidelity to Spain. The example of the United States, in securing independence from England, proved a powerful

incentive to South Americans, because their grievances against Spain were in many respects similar to those of the English colonies against the mother country. After 1810 colony after colony severed its connection with Spain, and by 1824 Spanish rule on the South American continent had come to an end. But the history of most of these new republics shows that the cry for "liberty" was too often made to serve the selfish purposes of intriguers and mere adventurers. True progress and prosperity are retarded by frequent revolutionary convulsions.

296. The Liberal Revolution in Spain. — After the fall of Napoleon the Spanish king, *Ferdinand VII*, returned to his throne, and was received enthusiastically. But seldom did a ruler disappoint his loyal subjects more shamefully than Ferdinand. The reconstruction of Spain after the turbulence of the Peninsular War required a firm hand and sound judgment, and Ferdinand lacked both. He first accepted the Constitution of 1812 and then rejected it. A cruel and senseless persecution of the French sympathizers deeply offended the liberals, while the scandals of his private life lost him the affections of all.

In 1820 he collected troops to subdue the rebellious American colonies. The service was not popular, and one of the regiments, instead of embarking, raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. Tumult followed in Madrid. The king, as cowardly as he was treacherous, yielded, called the Cortes, and restored the constitution.

297. Revolutions in Other States. — This Spanish Revolution became the signal for like attempts in other states. Before the year closed, Portugal and Naples both forced their kings to grant constitutions modeled upon that of Spain. In the case of Portugal one of the results of the revolution was the loss of its American colony, Brazil (1821). Early next year, the army of Piedmont¹ rebelled, to secure a constitution for the kingdom of

¹ Piedmont ("Foot of the Mount") was the district between the Alps and the plains of Lombardy. It was the most important part of the Kingdom of Sardinia. The names "Sardinia" and "Piedmont" were often

Sardinia, and in Naples a similar outbreak brought about a like result. Lombardy and Venice stirred restlessly in the grasp of Austria. The Greeks finally began their long and heroic struggle for independence.

One reason why agitation broke out in so many places at once was the influence of secret revolutionary societies, already in existence. The most important of these was the *Carbonari* ("charcoal burners"), which came into existence in Naples in the time of Napoleon to drive out the French. At first many sincere patriots became its members, but after the restoration of the legitimate government it passed under the control of extremists, whose object was the creation of a united Italian republic after the pattern of the First French Republic. Conspiracy, treachery, and even political murder were the means to be employed. They had already succeeded in undermining the loyalty of the army and thereby engineered the recent revolts. The society spread rapidly over all of Italy and parts of France.

298. The Holy Alliance. — Metternich not only used the Germanic Confederation to stifle progressive tendencies in Germany, but also adroitly twisted the Holy Alliance (§ 286, 4) to accomplish the same ends in southern Europe. When the revolutions of 1820 broke out, Metternich invited the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, France, and Austria to a congress at Troppau. There they signed a declaration that they would intervene to put down revolution against any established government. England protested against this plan, and, on her part, proclaimed the principle of "nonintervention," that is, that each nation should manage its own affairs as it chose. Undaunted by this protest, the united monarchs, known from this time as the Holy Alliance (see note to § 286), prepared to enforce their Troppau program.

299. Intervention in Naples and Sardinia. — A few months after Troppau, the allied monarchs met again at Laibach. With

used interchangeably to designate the state in northwestern Italy, of which the island of Sardinia was a part, ruled by princes of the House of Savoy.

them was Ferdinand of Naples. He had accepted the new Neapolitan constitution, but had previously made an agreement with Metternich to allow the intervention of Austrian military forces for the purpose of "suppressing rebellion and vice." The Laibach meeting now sent an Austrian army to Naples. The Neapolitans were easily defeated, and Ferdinand returned, surrounded by Austrian bayonets, to glut his vengeance upon the rebels with dungeon and scaffold. He was followed by Francis I, a well-meaning but weak man. Under him the Carbonari continued their secret activity.

Three days after the Neapolitan defeat came the revolt in Piedmont. The Carbonari thought the moment opportune on account of the absence of the Austrian forces in Naples. But the king, with the help of Austrian soldiers sent by the Laibach meeting, speedily crushed that revolt too.

These risings, instigated by the Carbonari, accomplished nothing, but rather put a stop to the most necessary reforms, as the absolute monarchs had to fight for their very existence. They strengthened the influence of Metternich and the reactionaries, which they had sought to destroy.

300. Intervention in Spain. — Flushed with its success in Italy, the Holy Alliance now determined to overthrow the Spanish constitution, from which the contagion had spread. In 1822 its members were summoned to a third congress at Verona. England protested again, but with the sanction of the other members of the Alliance a French army entered Spain. There the majority of the people hailed them as liberators from the yoke of the revolutionists. The Constitution of 1812 was again abolished, but nothing better put in its place. Ferdinand, like his namesake in Naples, took dire vengeance on the liberals. The country, however, found no rest, but was soon plunged into new civil wars.

A possible wish of the Holy Alliance to restore European control over the former Spanish colonies in America had to reckon with firm resistance from the United States and England. President Monroe announced, December 2, 1823, the fixed policy of

the United States in regard to foreign interference on the American continent. *America for the Americans* is the substance of the famous Monroe Doctrine.

301. The Greek Revolution. — The Greek Revolution blocked Metternich's policy in that country. The first rising in Greece, prepared by secret societies and young Greeks living abroad, had been accompanied by terrible massacres of the Turks dwelling in the country. The insurgents had based their hopes on Russia, but were left to themselves, and the Turks took vengeance on the unhappy people by ordering a frightful war of extermination upon the Christians. Metternich, in his mortal fear of rebellion, prevented effectual assistance and even hoped to bring about an intervention of the Alliance in favor of the restoration of Turkish authority. But he failed for two reasons.

a. The educated classes of western Europe had been nourished on the ancient Greek literature, and now their imagination was fired by the thought that this struggle against the Turks was a contest akin to that ancient war against the Persians which Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plutarch had made glorious. Everywhere enthusiastic men stirred up the sympathies of the western countries for the downtrodden Greeks. Money was freely given to help the patriots, and volunteers came from France, England, Germany, and America. The English poet Byron did much by his poems to widen the enthusiasm, and finally closed a rather wild and reckless career by giving his fortune and life to the Greek cause.

b. The Russian people felt a deep sympathy for the Greeks as their coreligionists, and a still deeper hatred for the Turks as their hereditary foes. Thus Metternich lost his chief ally, Russia. Tsar Alexander at first discountenanced the rising and even punished Russian officers who had encouraged it, as he felt himself bound by the principles of the Holy Alliance. But his successor, Nicholas I, had no such scruples. An alliance between Russia, England, and France brought intervention, but for the Greeks, not against them.

The English, French, and Russian fleets proceeded to Greece to enforce a truce which would permit negotiations. The three fleets were acting together under command of the English admiral Codrington, who happened to be the senior officer. Almost by chance they came into conflict with the Turkish fleet, and annihilated it in the battle of Navarino (October 20, 1827). The English commander had gone beyond his instructions, but the excited public feeling gave the government no chance to disavow the deed. The tsar, who alone had formally declared war, continued it until 1829, and advanced very far into Turkish territory. The jealousy of the other powers forced him to give up his conquests, but Greece obtained her independence (1830).

302. Except in America and Greece Metternich's system was triumphant. From 1820 to 1830 the reactionary statesmen had it all their own way from England to Greece.

The Decrees of Karlsbad (§ 293) were renewed in 1824, and remained the law of the Germanic Confederation for a generation more. Thousands of people were watched by the government police, supported by an extensive spy system. Many were punished for singing patriotic songs or for criticizing the despotic governments. Apparently no government could read the handwriting on the wall. The demand for greater freedom was not to be checked by such means; prisons and bayonets cannot kill ideas. But it must be admitted, too, that the standard bearers of "Liberty and Equality" were often extreme radicals, whose ideas of reform and popular welfare were those of Robespierre and the Jacobins. Usually, too, that element among the progressives made the greatest noise. Still there were not wanting sane men with whom the governments could have coöperated in establishing an order of things which would have been neither the absolutism of the eighteenth century nor the tyranny of the Reign of Terror.

The first attack on the reaction that was at all successful came from France. To understand it, we have to survey the history of France after Waterloo.

CHAPTER XXIV

FRANCE, 1815-1830, AND THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830

THE BOURBON RESTORATION, 1815-1830

303. The Charter of Louis XVIII. — When Louis XVIII became king (§ 280), he saw that France must have some guarantee of the personal rights which the Revolution had won. He refused the constitution which the old senate of Napoleon tried to force upon him, but he himself gave to the nation a Charter. In this way he saved the theory of the Bourbon kings that the monarch is the source of all law. The provisions of this document gave the people more liberty than any other country on the continent then enjoyed.

Under this Charter the legislature had two houses — the Peers, appointed for life by the king, and the Deputies. These last were elected by the people, but a very high property qualification let only one man in seventy vote. To be eligible as deputy, a man had to be still more wealthy, — so much so that in some districts it was hard to find any one to send to the legislature. The king kept an absolute veto and the sole right to propose laws. Personal rights, such as religious liberty, equality before the law, free speech, and freedom of the press, were retained. In local government the centralization of Napoleon continued.

Personally Louis XVIII was a benevolent old gentleman, shrewd, but indolent. But restless, irritable France needed more than that. The country was torn by wrangling factions, republicans, Bonapartists, royalists, of both moderate and extreme types. After the sacrileges of the Revolution and the cold infidelity of the Empire a strong Catholic revival had set

in, but its leaders were also for the most part extreme royalists, whose ideals were the Old Régime with its privileges left intact. Against them worked the irreligious, revolutionary element, chiefly through the secret societies, the Carbonari and others (§ 297).

304. Charles X, 1824-1830. — In 1824 Louis was succeeded by his brother Charles X. The new king, personally a devoted Catholic, wisely sought the regeneration of France in the revival of Catholic faith and practice, but very unwisely in working for the restoration of the Old Régime. The legislature at first supported him. In the meantime, however, all the old revolutionaries, who had lost nothing of their hatred for throne and altar, worked busily upon public opinion, flooding the country with cheap editions of Voltaire and Rousseau and winning over to their side the university students especially.

The royalists, by many reactionary and imprudent measures, played into their hands. Thus, in 1825, the legislature voted twenty million dollars from the national treasury to indemnify the returned emigrants. Later, to stem the rising tide of impiety, the freedom of the press was curtailed. The clergy were given large control of education, but at the same time it was the aim of the monarchy to make the Church subservient to the crown. Religion suffered thereby, as the Church seemed identified with the cause of Bourbon absolutism.

305. Growing Discontent. — At an inspection of the National Guards in 1827, threatening cries against the government were heard from the ranks. The king dissolved the Guards. Then, in order to secure a more pliant legislature, in which the liberal parties had gradually increased their strength, the king dismissed the Chamber of Deputies and ordered new elections. But the antigovernmental parties had been so active that they secured a decided majority. The leader of the liberals was *Thiers*, a brilliant young journalist and admirer of the English constitution. "The king reigns, but does not govern," was his theory, and in his paper he frequently made significant references

to the English Revolution of 1688, which had overthrown the Stuarts.

Alarmed by the threatened revolution, Charles X dismissed his prime minister and appointed a moderate liberal to the post. This compromise pleased neither side, and the new minister had to go. Then the king, angered at the ingratitude with which his minor concessions were received, appointed an out-and-out reactionary ministry. After promptly giving it a "vote of want of confidence," the Deputies themselves were as promptly sent home by the king. In the hope of quieting this agitation at home by military success abroad, Charles ordered a vigorous attack upon the pirate fortress of Algiers, where desultory warfare had been carried on for some time. The fortress fell, but too late to influence the elections. Every deputy who had voted against the ministry was reëlected, and the liberals gained fifty additional seats. As a last resort, the king resolved upon a *coup d'état*. It cost him his crown.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 IN FRANCE

306. The "July Ordinances." — Without being prepared for the consequences, the enraged monarch suddenly published a series of decrees known as the "July Ordinances." These ordinances practically suspended the Charter. One forbade the publication of newspapers without the royal approval, another dissolved the new legislature (which had not yet met), and a third promulgated new election laws, restricting the franchise to the richer landowners.

Metternich had foreseen this deed and its probable results. He lamented the free press and the representative system in France, but he warned the French ambassador that an attempt to do away with these "plague spots" would ruin the dynasty. "The men of lead," he said, "are on the side of the Charter. Charles X should remember 1789."

307. The "July Days" — Fall of the Bourbons. — The Ordinances were published July 26, 1830. The great mass of

the people remained quiet and Charles expected no trouble. Forty-one journalists published a protest written by Thiers, but it advocated only legal resistance, not violence. Many old revolutionists in Paris, however, were ready to go further. The Carbonari, advised by Lafayette in his old age, worked with feverish haste to organize a rebellion. On July 28 barricades arose all over the city, and furious fighting ensued between the royal troops and the republican mob. For three days the streets of Paris rang with the din of battle, the republicans steadily gaining.

The moderate liberals began to fear a repetition of the days of the First Republic, and to prevent this quickly organized a provisional government. *Louis Philippe*, a distant cousin of Charles and son of the Duke of Orléans of revolutionary fame (§ 203), was appointed Lieutenant-General of France. Meanwhile Charles remained quietly at St. Cloud, a suburb of Paris, totally blind to the danger. Regiment after regiment of the royal troops went over to the rebels. At last the king's eyes were opened. He withdrew the odious Ordinances, dismissed the ministry, and, finally, resigned in favor of his grandson. But all was in vain; the temporary government merely accepted the resignation, and Charles went into exile, where he died a few years later.

308. Limited Monarchy in France. — The legislature which Charles had tried to dissolve now met and elected Louis Philippe to the vacant throne, to the great chagrin of the republicans. The *citizen king*, as he was called, accepted the Charter which had been amended by the new government. The old constitution had declared that the king ruled "by the grace of God." The new document added, "and by the will of the people." Louis Philippe ruled by election instead of by birth, and the constitution was forced upon him.

In these two important respects the Second French Revolution corresponded to the English Revolution of 1688 (§ 127), but in other ways it did not go so far. The most important

political changes were: (1) The right to introduce bills was given to the legislature; (2) the franchise was somewhat extended, but there were still less than two hundred thousand voters in a population of some thirty millions.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 THROUGHOUT EUROPE

309. Belgium. — As in the first French Revolution, the influence of the “July Revolution” spread to different parts of Europe. The most notable and the most justifiable of the risings that followed was in the Netherlands. There the union of Belgium and Holland, decreed by the Congress of Vienna, had worked out to the disadvantage of the Belgians. Their share in the burdens of the state was disproportionately large, while the government frequently favored the northern section of the kingdom. King William I, a stubborn Calvinist, constantly interfered with the Catholic education of his Belgian subjects, and forced upon them the Dutch language and Dutch officials. The long smoldering indignation burst into flames at the news of the “July Days” in Paris. The revolt spread rapidly, and, though checked several times, the Belgians with the moral support of England and France achieved their independence. A conference of the powers in London declared Belgium independent (1831) and neutral forever (1839). This agreement was to become of the greatest importance at the outbreak of the World War almost a century later.

310. The Triumph of Reaction. — Less successful were risings in other parts of Europe. The *Poles* revolted against the tsar, to whom they had been delivered by the Congress of Vienna. They fought with the courage of despair, but, deserted by every one, they were at last crushed with revolting cruelty by the Russian soldiery. They lost their separate constitution and became simply a Russian province.

In *Italy* and *Germany* too there were numerous outbreaks and riots, usually the result of machinations by secret societies. But, apart from a few concessions in some German states, they

achieved nothing. Of a new Spanish revolution we will speak later (§ 463).

Reaction once more was victorious. Yet Metternich's system and the principles of the Holy Alliance had suffered somewhat. France left it and joined England in proclaiming a policy of nonintervention. In the other countries of Europe the system continued for eighteen years more, but when the next year of revolutions came (1848), it fell forever in western Europe.

To understand the force of this last revolution, we have to study another, slow-working revolution, begun long ago in England and now gradually extending over the continent.

PART VI: THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XXV

THE REVOLUTION IN METHODS OF WORK

311. The Revolution in Industry. — While France was giving Europe her first great social and political revolution, toward the close of the eighteenth century, England had been working out quietly an economic revolution which was to affect much more the work and daily life of the masses of men and women and children all over the world. This revolution was at first a change in the ways in which certain kinds of work were done, so we call it the *Industrial Revolution*. Though not wrought by the spectacular actions of kings and generals or the subtle minds of diplomats, it has more to do with the way in which you and I live to-day than all the political upheavals.

312. Industrial Conditions about 1775. — Our lives and daily work differ far more from those of our ancestors in the time of the American Revolution, than their life and labor differed from those of men in the time of Charlemagne a thousand years before. In the days of Frederick the Great and George Washington, farmers raised grain and wove cloth and carried their spare products to market in almost exactly the same way in which these things had been done for centuries. The discovery of America had added corn (maize) and the potato to the world's food plants, and had enormously increased the production of sugar (in the West Indies) and so made its use more general. But in Europe itself a farmer rarely had a larger variety of vegetables in his garden than the ancient Roman farmer had. He

dim, ill-smelling candles or smoky and flaring torches. If a householder carelessly let the fire in his fireplace go out, he borrowed live coals from a neighbor, or struck sparks into tinder with flint and steel. The few cities were still medieval.

London was the only town in Europe that boasted of street lamps, and there the light was supplied by a poorly burning oil. On the main streets of Paris, the mud lay a foot deep in rainy weather. Arthur Young (§ 176), in 1787, wrote of Paris: "Walking, which in London is so pleasant and clean that ladies



MODERN FARM TRACTORS

Ewing Galloway

do it every day, is here a toil and fatigue to a man, and an impossibility to a well-dressed woman."

313. Beginnings of the Great Change. — The first improvements came in England, in agriculture. Early in the eighteenth century English landlords introduced a better system of crop rotation, raising roots, like beets and turnips, on the third field formerly left fallow (see § 8). This proved just as good for the ground, and it furnished more food, which made it possible to keep more cattle. English farmers began to give much attention to breeding fine cattle and sheep, and so produced more beef and wool.

Mechanical inventions in agriculture followed. In 1785 the first threshing machine was invented, and the cast-iron plow appeared about 1800. This permitted deeper plowing and more rapid work. But for some time, even in America, farmers were generally prejudiced against it, asserting that the iron "poisoned" the ground. Drills, seeders, mowers, reapers, binders, were still in the future, but in 1800 the era of farm machinery was about to begin.

The next change was in transportation. England began to improve her main roads about 1750, building "turnpikes," with frequent barriers where tolls were collected from the travelers to pay for repairs. A Scotch engineer, McAdam, gave his name to macadamized roads.

The ancients had frequently dug canals and used them to carry goods. Louis XIV and Frederick the Great had constructed a few in France and Prussia. But England gave them a wholly new importance by introducing the lock system, to permit boats to pass from one level to another. The first lock system was built in 1761, to bring coal to Manchester from a mine seven miles away. And before 1800 England was better supplied with canals than she had been with roads in 1700.

314. The Improvements in Spinning. — The change that was really to revolutionize the workers' lives, however, came not in farming nor in transportation, but in manufacturing — first in spinning. In Elizabeth's time the fiber of flax or wool was drawn into thread by the distaff and spindle, as it had been from time immemorial. In the seventeenth century the distaff was replaced by the spinning wheel, run first by one hand, but afterward by the foot of the spinner. Even the wheel, however, drew out only one thread at a time, and a weaver with his clumsy hand loom could still weave all the thread that eight spinners could supply. So they began to think about a swifter way of securing thread. In 1764 *James Hargreaves*, an English weaver, invented a machine in which one wheel turned eight spindles and spun eight threads, instead of one. The thread, however,

was not satisfactory for all kinds of cloth, so in 1771 *Richard Arkwright* devised a machine which ran the wool or cotton through a series of rollers revolving at different rates of speed, to draw out the thread, and he drove these rollers by water power, not by hand, and so called his machine a *water frame*. Four years later *Samuel Crompton* combined the invention of Hargreaves with that of Arkwright and produced a machine with which one spinner could spin two hundred threads at a time.

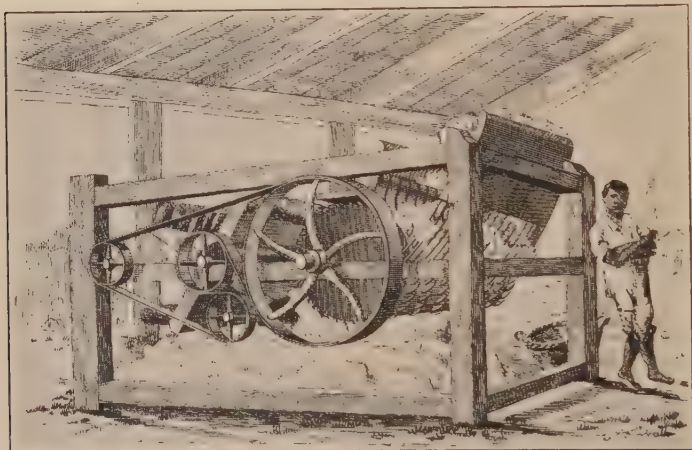
The weavers now had too much thread for the old-fashioned hand looms, where the threads were first drawn out lengthwise on a frame, the weaver driving his shuttle by hand back and forth between them with the woof (cross threads). *Edmund Cartwright*, an Anglican clergyman, in 1784 invented the *power loom*, in which the shuttle threw itself back and forth automatically. Then the weavers could keep up easily; and by later improvements, before 1900, it became possible for one man to weave more cloth than two hundred could in 1770.

The next step was to secure more cotton for spinning. *Eli Whitney*, an American, then invented his *cotton gin*, wherewith one slave could clean as much seed from the fiber as three hundred had been able to clean before. This was in 1793. In that year the United States exported 200,000 pounds of cotton. Seven years later, in 1800, the amount had leaped a thousand-fold to 20,000,000 pounds, and three years later was twice that amount. All this enormous production went to feed the new manufactures in England.



Underwood and Underwood
SPINNING YARN IN SWITZERLAND

315. A New Source of Power. — The power for driving these new machines was now largely furnished by water, which had replaced hand power. Water sometimes, however, became too scanty, and it was not present at all in many places where it was wanted. This need was supplied by James Watt's improvements on the steam engine.



AN EARLY COTTON GIN

The expansive power of steam was, of course, known long ago, and many had speculated on how it might be put to practical use. In the second half of the eighteenth century steam engines had been invented that could pump water, and they were used to draw water out of flooded mines. These engines, however, had only an up-and-down movement; they were clumsy and slow, and they wasted steam and fuel. *James Watt*, an instrument maker, was called upon to repair a model for such an engine, and became interested in removing these defects. By 1785 he had constructed an engine that worked much more swiftly, economically, and powerfully, and which could transmit its power to wheels (and so drive machinery), by an arrangement of shafts and cranks. In the same year steam was first

used to drive spinning machinery. Fifteen years later, there were more steam engines in England than water wheels, and four had found their way to America.

Iron was the only practicable metal for building engines and power machines, and in 1790 the manufacture of iron was slow and costly and the product inferior. In that year, however, a new blowing apparatus powered by steam was invented which gave a steady blast of air, instead of the old bellows and like arrangements. Soon, too, better ways were found to change the brittle castings into malleable wrought iron.

Thus, by 1800, the age of steam and iron had begun in England, and to some degree in America. The continent of Europe remained closed against it for some years longer, because of the wars of Napoleon and his Continental System, but on his fall it began to win its way there also.

Before we leave this age of invention, we must note two applications of the steam engine, and also a few separate inventions, in all of which America had a large share.

316. The First Steamboat. — Some of Watt's steam engines, we have said, found their way to America before 1800. The chief need here, in that day, was transportation. Since there was no time to build roads over our vast territory, we wanted first transportation by water. Rivers were used to carry goods easily down the current, but some means to force a boat upstream was needed. Therefore, in America, ingenious mechanics at once sought to apply the new steam engine to navigation.

John Fitch, a poor carpenter with a wonderful inventive genius, in 1789 built a ferryboat with paddles driven by a steam engine of his own make. But Fitch could not raise money to extend the use of his invention, though for some time he ran his boat up the river at Philadelphia. At the same time, Oliver Evans, another neglected genius, built a steam engine able to produce locomotion, but he, too, failed to secure financial support. Soon after, *Robert Fulton* was more fortunate. He, too, met with one rebuff. He offered his steamboat to Napoleon

so that that baffled conqueror might transport his waiting army from Boulogne to England in spite of the English sailing fleet (§ 264). Happily, Napoleon rejected him as a faker — and so lost his best chance to conquer England.

Fulton secured money from Livingston, United States minister to France, and having returned to New York, in 1807 amid popular jeers he launched the *Clermont*, which, furnished with a steam engine from England, made a trial trip up the Hudson from New York to Albany. The next year a regular



FULTON'S "CLERMONT"

(From a model in the National Museum at Washington.) This little ship, 175 feet long, ran at a speed of 3 or 4 miles an hour. It required 32 hours to reach Albany from New York.

line of steamboats plied between the two cities, and men were eagerly waiting for their introduction elsewhere.

Within a few years another steamboat, the *Orleans*, was launched on the Ohio at Pittsburgh, and steamed down the river to the distant city for which it was named. The War of 1812 interrupted steamboat building, but in 1820 sixty such vessels plied the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, and some of them were finding their way up the muddy Missouri, between herds of astonished buffalo.

317. The Opening of the Railroad Era. — If steam would drive boats, why not coaches as well? Experiments for land locomotives began at once. Short horse "tramways" had been

used in some places in England for many years. A tramway was merely a line of rails on which carts were drawn more easily than on bare ground. Soon after 1800 Richard Trevithick in England used a steam engine to furnish power for a short tramway, but his was really a stationary engine of the old type. What was wanted was a "traveling" engine.

Several experimenters worked at the problem without success, until *George Stephenson*, in 1814, completed a locomotive which was used to haul carts of coal on tramways from mines to the



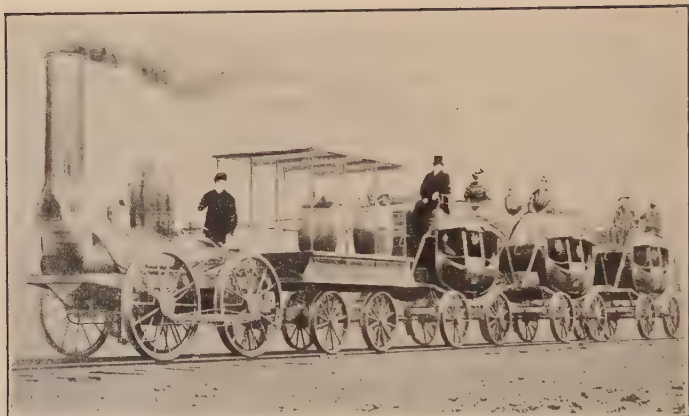
Courtesy of North German Lloyd Line

THE "BREMEN" OF THE NORTH GERMAN LLOYD LINE

This ship is 938½ feet long. On its first trip it made the crossing from Cherbourg to New York harbor in 4 days, 17 hours, and 42 minutes.

nearest canal or river. In 1825 a passenger line twelve miles long was opened in England; and in 1828, in America, the aged Charles Carroll, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, drove the gold spike that began the construction of the great Baltimore and Ohio line. The railway age had fairly begun.

Canals at this time were receiving the lion's share of public interest, and the tremendous importance of railroads did not show until some twenty years later. The early rails were of wood, protected from wear by a covering of iron "straps" — which had an awkward way of curling up at a loosened end. Fifteen miles an hour in the early days was considered an amazing speed.



THE "DE WITT CLINTON," ONE OF THE FIRST STEAM LOCOMOTIVES
IN AMERICA

On its first trip (from Albany to Schenectady), 1831, it reached a maximum speed of 15 miles an hour.



A MODERN ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE

It can pull a train a mile a minute on level stretches.

318. The Modern Age of Science Begins. — After 1830 mechanical inventions to save time or to make human life more attractive or more comfortable followed one another with great rapidity. A few cases only can be mentioned from the bewildering mass. The McCormick reaper (to be drawn by horses) appeared in 1834, and multiplied the farmer's efficiency by twenty. Planing mills created a new industry in woodworking. In 1838 the English *Great Western* company established steam navigation between Europe and America. In 1838 a Frenchman, Daguerre, invented photography with his "daguerreotype." The magnetic telegraph, invented in 1833 by the German scientist Gauss, was made practical by the American Morse in 1844. Other applications of electrical energy in the dynamo, the telephone, etc., belong to a later period. Likewise the far-reaching effects of these inventions on the relations of nations to one another, on their policy and their quarrels, did not appear until much later.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS' LIVES

319. Immediate Effects of the Inventions. — The fundamental result of the introduction of the new machinery was that labor produced much more wealth, that is, a greater abundance of material goods. This change ought to have been purely good. It should have meant a gain for all the world, especially in the way of more comfort and leisure for the workers. In reality, it meant something very different.

True, part of the increased wealth finally did go, indirectly, to the common gain in lower prices. Every one, the workmen included, can buy cloth or hardware cheaper than before the Industrial Revolution began. This is a gain. It makes possible more life and some better life. But the Industrial Revolution also resulted directly and at once in much poorer life for just those who, we should have supposed, would be the first benefited. This was particularly true in the beginning. To understand this we must look once more at the condition of workmen before the invention of machinery.

320. Ruin of the Domestic System. — Under the *domestic system* (§ 87) all manufactures had been *handmade* (as the word *manufacture* signifies). Hours of labor were long and profits small, because there was little surplus wealth to divide. But there were compensations. The workmen worked in their own homes, under reasonably wholesome conditions. Their labor was varied because each carried on several operations. They owned their own tools. They had considerable command over their hours of toil. Their condition resembled that of the farmer of to-day more than that of the modern factory worker.

Usually they owned a plot of ground about their cottage, and a vegetable garden, cultivated in spare time especially by the women and children, kept down the cost of living.

When the Industrial Revolution brought tireless iron machines driven by steam, the hand workers could not compete. They could not, for instance, produce enough cloth — at the price at which it was sold after 1800 — to support themselves, even with their garden spots. The Industrial Revolution came swiftly, upturning the whole system of manufacturing before a hale man turned into an old one. The hand workers could not at once understand the drift of the times. They could not see why these new contrivances of wood and iron should render worthless the skill which was theirs through generations of toil. Great numbers of them kept up a losing fight with the machine, for their lifetime, under harsher and harsher conditions.

321. The Factory System and the Capitalist. — But the most serious evils fell not upon the workmen who kept up the hopeless fight against steam and machine, but upon the hundreds of thousands of workmen who were forced to work in the new factories. The new machinery was costly. Workmen could not own it as they had owned their tools. Nor did they know how to combine to own it in groups. It all passed into the hands of wealthy men, “capitalists,” who hired workers to operate it. This marks the beginning of a new organization of labor. The old slave system gave way to serfdom in agriculture and to a guild organization in manufactures. Guilds gave way to the domestic system. And now the domestic system gave way to the present capitalist system, or wage system, or factory system.

The *capitalist* was a new figure in European life, appearing first in England. He was not himself a workman, like the old master in the guilds or in the domestic system. He was only an employer. He erected great buildings called factories, filled them with costly machines, bought the necessary raw material (cotton, wool, or iron, as the case might be), and paid wages.

The workman now furnished nothing but his hands. Great numbers of men, displaced by the change, wanted work, and, moreover, much of the work on the new machinery could be done by women and children, especially in cloth manufacturing. So the capitalist had the workman at his mercy. He could fix wages and hours of labor as he pleased. And if the capitalist



STEEL WORKS IN PUEBLO, COLORADO

was a new figure in high society, the capital-less and landless worker (*proletarian*) was a much more significant new figure in the lower classes.

322. Growth of Classes Based on Wealth. — Thus the new manufacturing society was made up of two distinct and hostile classes. Under the guild and domestic system, apprentices and journeymen had expected to rise, sooner or later, to be masters; and they lived at all times on intimate terms with their masters, who worked side by side with them, shared their hardships, and took a fatherly interest in them. Under the new system, a particularly enterprising and fortunate workman might now and then rise into the capitalist class. Yet, on the whole,

the line was as distinctly drawn between the soft-handed capitalist and the hard-handed workman in 1800, as between the armored noble and stooped peasant in 1200. Moreover, the capitalist had no personal contact with his workmen. He employed not three or four, living in his own family, but hundreds or thousands. He never saw them outside the factory, and did not even know their names except on the pay roll. The lack of personal contact made it impossible for the employer to realize fully the workers' condition, their hopes and their sufferings. There was no chance for real sympathy or understanding between the two classes.

Factory work was more monotonous than domestic manufacture. The use of machinery was followed by a minute subdivision of labor. A workman who had formerly performed many different processes at different times now spent his long day of labor in doing some simple set of motions again and again, standing at one place from dawn to dark.

323. Living Conditions. — The changes so far noted are more or less permanent results of the capitalist system. We have them still in our own day, but in 1800, in England, there was another result more immediately disastrous to the worker. He was compelled to change his whole manner of life for the worse. He must reach the factory within a few minutes after the first whistle blew, about sunrise, and stay there until sunset — all the time that it was light enough to work. So the capitalist built long blocks of ugly tenements near his factory, to rent; and the workmen moved from their pretty rural cottages, with garden spots and fresh air, into these crowded city quarters.

Cities grew with marvelous rapidity under the factory system. In 1750 England was still a rural country, with only four or five towns that had more than 6000 people. Within fifty years cities had leaped into life everywhere. More than 100 towns counted 5000 inhabitants, and in 1891 the number of such towns was 622. At the same time the total population grew. In 1700 the entire population of England and Wales was some-

where between four and five millions. In 1800 it was eight millions. Then it doubled during the first half of the nineteenth century and again in the second half.

The factory system has helped to produce rapid growth of population and cities in all civilized lands; but nowhere else (except in the United States, where immigration has added millions) has the growth been so enormous as in England. During the nineteenth century England changed from an agricultural country to one devoted mainly to manufacturing and unable to supply her own food.

The growth of cities brought new problems, which added to the misery of the workers, and were not solved for a long time. The new cities grew up without water supply, or drainage, or garbage collection. The masses of the factory workers dwelt in denlike garrets and cellars — a family stuffed into a squalid room or two — bordering on pestilential alleys, in perpetual filth and misery and vice. In 1837 one tenth of the people of the great city of Manchester lived in cellars.

324. Employment of Women and Children. — When women were forced to work in the factories, the homes of a large part of the nation were destroyed. An even worse feature, perhaps, was the employment of large numbers of children. They were often sent there not by their parents, but by greedy contractors, for parish authorities had power to take children from pauper families and sell them to contractors who auctioned them off, thousands at a time, to the great factories, where their life was a ghastly slavery.

Hours of labor, also for women and children, were much longer than now, ranging from twelve to sixteen a day, with no holidays except Sunday. It took a long time for law and parliament to interest themselves in these problems, chiefly because the capitalist controlled the legislative machinery of the country.

325. "Landlord England." — On the agricultural side also the Industrial Revolution brought a great evil, as it destroyed

the small independent farmers of England. The new profits in farming (§ 313), made possible by the new farm machinery and the demand of the factory workers for food, made landlords eager for more land. They controlled parliament, which, after 1760, passed law after law inclosing the "commons" for the benefit of their own class. The peasant farmers, having lost their old pasture lands by these inclosures, could no longer maintain themselves against the competition of the privileged landlord, who, alone, had money to buy the new machinery. Small farmers had to sell out, and usually moved into the cities, to swell the unhappy numbers of factory hands. In 1700, in spite of the older inclosure movement (§ 84), England had still some 400,000 independent farmers, but by 1800 they had practically disappeared, and rural England had become a country of great landlords.

Since this change, the classes in the countryside are three — landlords, tenant farmers, and laborers. The first class comprises a few thousand gentry and nobles, owning enormous estates which they divide into "farms" of from one hundred to three hundred acres and lease to tenants. These tenants are now generally prosperous, but, of course, they do not own their land, and in other matters are also largely influenced by their landlords. Peasants became free in England some centuries sooner than in France or Germany, but in no other country have they ceased so completely to be owners of the soil as in modern England. France with a population only a little larger has more than twenty times as many landowners.

The phrase Industrial Revolution applies especially to the change in manufacturing due to the use of machinery and steam, in the period from 1760 to 1820. The Agricultural Revolution, a part of the same general increase in the invention and use of machinery, began earlier and was of less importance. It helped on the Industrial Revolution, however, by furnishing workmen for the new factories.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REVOLUTION IN IDEAS ABOUT GOVERNMENT

326. The "Let Alone" Idea for Business. — The rich capitalist class resented all thought of interference in their business by government. They easily proved that such interference in past times had been foolish and harmful, even when best intended. The new ideas about carrying on industry and producing wealth were put into form by a group of scholars and writers who called the new science political economy. It was founded by Adam Smith, about the beginning of the American Revolution.

The fundamental principle of Smith's doctrine was that government must keep hands off, unless called in as a policeman to keep order. "Laws of supply and demand," it taught, were "natural laws" among men (as gravitation is in the physical universe) and could not be meddled with, except to do harm. Supply and demand alone must be allowed to determine prices, quality of goods, wages, and other conditions of employment. Only so could the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" be secured.

This theory became known as the *Manchester doctrine*, because it was universal among manufacturers in that leading industrial center. It is also called by a French name, — *laissez-faire* ("let alone" or "let do it"). English merchants accepted it no less readily than manufacturers, in their hatred of the old tariffs which hampered their trade, and it soon became almost a religion to the town middle class.

327. Origin of Socialism. — Before long it became evident that this new doctrine suited the strong, but was totally un-

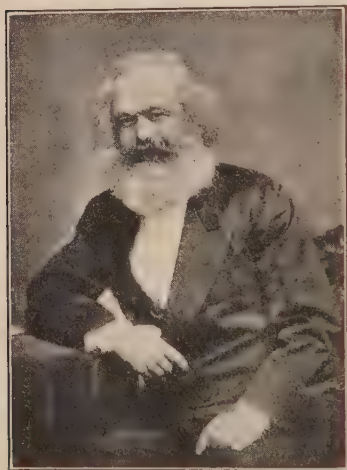
Christian in its callous disregard for the weak. It produced prosperity for the few and misery for the many. The horrible conditions of the factory towns were its first fruits (§ 323). Gradually another view came into prominence and is to-day widely accepted. It is *socialism*. While the "let alone" economists proclaimed absolute liberty for individuals, both employers and employees, the socialists go to the other extreme and preach absolute control by the state (understanding, however, a purely democratic state).

The French Revolution created the seed of socialism. The Third Estate, consisting chiefly of the middle classes and the capitalists of that time, far less in numbers and importance than to-day, had proclaimed liberty and equality for all as an ideal but actually reserved influence and power to themselves. In opposition to this new ruling class, there sprang into existence a "fourth estate," the penniless proletarians to whom equality meant to be equal in misery. These victims of poverty became the first recruits of socialism. *Babeuf*, a Frenchman, was the first to raise the standard of socialism. He taught that all men are obliged to work, and that the government should apportion to each one his share of work, and collect and distribute the products. *Saint-Simon* believed that industry should be the basic social institution, and that, consequently, the workmen should be restored to the first place in society, of which they had been unjustly deprived. *Fourier* dreamed of a sort of human happiness, consisting in the gratification of all human instincts. The means of gratification, he taught, is organized labor. Every man, therefore, is entitled to remunerative labor and may demand it from the state, if he cannot obtain it elsewhere.

These three Frenchmen were contemporaries of the Revolution and profoundly influenced by its ideas, but also profoundly disgusted with the small amount of real advantage which this great upheaval brought to the lower classes.

328. The Position of Socialism To-day. — Modern socialists look on these early schemes as well-meant efforts of dreamers

and unpractical enthusiasts. They trace their teaching to *Karl Marx*. Marx was born of Jewish parents, in 1818, in Germany. Later he and his family embraced Protestantism. After his studies at the university of Bonn he was admitted as private professor, but soon lost his position on account of his revolutionary ideas. He then went to France and later to England,



KARL MARX

where he spent the last forty years of his life in literary labors and the development of his system. This system is most completely explained in his book *Capital*, which for socialists has become what Rousseau's *Social Contract* (§ 190) was for the French revolutionists. A brief summary is necessary for the understanding of modern socialism.

The condition of society today is not ordained by nature, but is the result of injustice and spoliation. The sources of the evils that oppress the working

classes are the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases in economic matters and the right to possess private property, especially that used as capital. An individual person may begin on a basis of equality with his fellows, but soon, by fair means or foul, may secure a great amount of wealth, set himself apart from his fellow men, and thus destroy equality. Classes are formed, the few "capitalists" on one side and the millions of workers on the other.

To bring about a betterment of these conditions, the socialists propose radical means. Since private wealth is produced by the private ownership of the "means of production," the latter are to be made property of the state, that is to say, of the people as

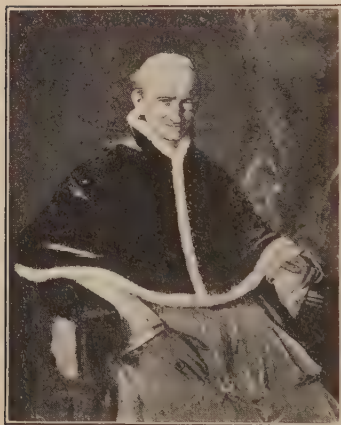
a whole. The "means of production" comprise those things that are not directly consumed (as food and clothing are) but are employed to produce more wealth, as land, mines, factories, raw materials, all means of transportation and public utilities. All these things have come into the hands of the capitalist through a social injustice, they say, and should, therefore, go back to those to whom they belong, the community or the state. To prevent the accumulation of such productive wealth in the future, the state will take over the supervision of work and the proper distribution of its products.

The method the socialists urge to bring about this change is the union of the workers. "Unite and make the world your own," is their motto. Then all will work, but none will have to work too much or too long. Not only nation-wide unions are to be founded, but a world-wide federation of labor is the socialists' dream. Frequently, however, socialists oppose legislation for the betterment of the working classes. This would only render the proletariat more contented and delay the great changes desired. "The wounds of the social body have to be kept festering," says one of their leaders.

329. The Catholic Position on Social Evils. — Realizing the danger of these new and subversive doctrines, Catholic writers and leaders in many lands began to give their attention to the problems of social evils. Gradually they organized a movement for reform on Christian principles which has already won considerable success. The movement began in Germany (§ 449) in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it received its most powerful impulse from the authoritative pronouncements of Pope Leo XIII.

Catholics recognize, of course, the evils which the socialists propose to undo, but in tracing them to their sources and in suggesting the remedies they differ widely from their antagonists. The causes of social evils are not only economic, but moral and religious as well. It is true that present economic conditions are far from satisfactory. Though production, on account of

the introduction of machinery, has increased enormously, wages have not kept pace with that increase. Moreover, the worker was formerly surer of his wage and less dependent on the employer. Now overproduction or the invention of new machinery often throws him out of work, or he may have to move from place to place unexpectedly and under great hardship.



POPE LEO XIII

Nevertheless, the moral and religious causes are also of great importance. The breaking loose from practical Christianity, so characteristic of the last two centuries, has developed an intense selfishness, a struggle for wealth in which each one seeks his own material advantage at the expense of his neighbor. It makes men look with bitter jealousy upon more fortunate individuals.

There is a widespread craving for excessive luxury, for living above one's means, for emulating the wealthy.

330. The Catholic Remedies. — What, then, are the remedies proposed by Catholics? Certainly not the adoption of socialist views. That equality which the socialists wish to force upon men is not their natural condition. Men are not equal in physical and mental endowments which make for success in competition. Private ownership of the means of production cannot be abolished without depriving men of the strongest impulse to work and advance. Universal stagnation would be the consequence.

The socialists deliberately ignore, yea exclude, religion from coöperating in the solution of the great social problem. They forget that man's happiness here below is not his ultimate end,

that the Creator did not want equal wealth and equal material advantages for all. Many socialist leaders have openly declared their hostility to all religion. Thus Karl Marx bluntly states, "The abolition of religion as the deceptive happiness of the people is a necessary condition for their true happiness."

The remedy for the evils that afflict society to-day is not violent upheavals, but the harmonious coöperation of workers and employers, of State and Church. The workers are to be encouraged to combine for mutual protection and resistance to oppression. The state, having at heart the temporal welfare of its citizens, should by wise legislation protect the workers and their families in their rights, their health, and their morals. But that change of heart, that different attitude, which is so necessary for the cure of modern evils is the task of religion.

Hence Christianity should be free to carry out its mission. It alone can effectively inculcate the duties of justice and charity, of forbearance and patience. It alone can console man in the inevitable sufferings of this life, not with vain hopes of an earthly paradise, but with the sure hope of reward hereafter. Happily, these ideas have recently been gaining ground, have favorably influenced legislation, and have revived everywhere the practice of genuine Christian charity.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the Catholic forces were poorly organized. Socialist ideas were in the air, even if not clearly understood, and they have much to do with the next period of revolutions in Europe, 1848.

PART VII: CONTINENTAL EUROPE, 1848-1871

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE THIRD FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1848

331. The Orleans Monarchy. — Louis Philippe (§ 308), who had been *elected* king, liked to be called the “Citizen King.” He walked the streets in the dress of an ordinary prosperous citizen, frock coat and silk hat, and with a green cotton umbrella under his arm. As he owed his throne chiefly to the wealthy middle class (*bourgeoisie*), he relied on it for support. For eighteen years, by skillfully picking his way between extreme demands, he managed to maintain himself in power. Still he never became popular. Perhaps he lacked insight into the French character. The nation had been accustomed to the glory of the Napoleonic era. It had often dictated the policy of Europe, and posed as champion of “liberty and democracy.” Louis Philippe was in its eyes too weak and unaggressive.

332. Foreign and Domestic Policies of Louis Philippe. — The king wished above all to maintain peace, and abstained as much as possible from interference abroad. Peace was the desire of the dominant middle class, who prospered by the peaceful changes of the Industrial Revolution that just at this period was transforming economic conditions in France. To retain the favor of the wealthier bourgeois he opposed any extension of the franchise, so that only the richer citizens enjoyed the right of voting. The middle class, too, held the military power, since it was organized into the National Guards — to which workingmen were not admitted.

Two main parties contended in the legislature. *Thiers* (§ 305) led the Liberals, who wished a monarchy resembling that of England. At the same time they demanded an extension of the franchise and a more aggressive foreign policy. *Thiers'* life-long opponent, the historian *Guizot*, led the Conservatives, who opposed all further changes toward democracy. From 1840 to 1848 he was the chief minister, giving France the most stable administration since the days of Napoleon. However, in its desire to preserve tranquillity the government ignored the need of reforms, partly made necessary by the changed industrial conditions. Proposals to reduce the enormous salt tax, to extend education, to reform the old-fashioned postal system, to improve the prisons, were alike suppressed.

The Catholics, who had been closely allied to the government of Charles X (§ 304), now assumed a more independent attitude. Under able leaders, like the brilliant writer and orator, the Count of Montalembert, they began to agitate for greater freedom in religious education, and, in general, for more independence from the state. *Guizot*, though himself a Huguenot, was inclined to favor them more than *Thiers* and the old republicans.

We have seen how the Seven Years' War left France practically shorn of all her colonies. During Louis Philippe's reign rather timid attempts were made to gain a new colonial empire, not in America or India, but nearer home, in northern Africa. Charles X had taken Algiers (§ 305), and now the French extended their territory westward as far as Morocco. English jealousy and the fear of foreign entanglements prevented them from reaching the Atlantic at this time. A more serious setback was encountered in Egypt. There the Turkish viceroy in a successful revolt renounced the authority of the sultan and occupied territory outside Egypt. France heartily supported the rebel, but a conference of England, Russia, and Prussia compelled him to give up most of his claims. *Thiers*, then minister of Louis Philippe, objected vigorously, and war seemed imminent. But

the king dreaded it, Thiers had to resign, and Guizot stepped into his place.

333. The Government under Guizot. — Guizot maintained the ascendancy of the middle class by rather questionable means. The franchise, as we saw, was very narrow. Guizot used the vast patronage of the government in order to obtain the continued support of the deputies. In America the constitution forbids the President to appoint congressmen as paid officers such as postmasters or custom-house collectors. But in France it was the regular practice to make members of the legislature "placemen" of this sort, as in England a century earlier (§ 132). This evil was the greater because in France the government appointed not only national officials, as with us, but also all local officials, like our state and county officials, city mayors, and chiefs of police. Thus the government had about 300,000 offices to buy votes with. After the election was over, the ministry strengthened its majority in the chambers by appointing the members to profitable offices, or by giving lucrative business contracts with the government. It is easy to see how Guizot thus was able to create a complacent legislature.

Thiers, now the leader of the opposition, came forward with the demand (1) to forbid the appointment of members of the legislature to salaried offices, (2) to widen the franchise. In reality these proposals were to be the lever to unseat Guizot, as Thiers himself, when in office, had made extensive use of the patronage. Guizot and his majority rejected the demand. Thiers then turned to bring public opinion to bear on the legislature. Mass meetings were held and discontent stirred up. The government forbade the agitation — and thereby brought on the *Revolution of 1848*. This revolution was the work of the socialists, who all the while had been growing stronger, almost unnoticed by the leaders of either party.

334. The Industrial Revolution in France. — Until about 1825, the Industrial Revolution, which was fairly complete in England, had not yet begun in France. In the next twenty

years, however, it spread rapidly. As late as 1825 cloth manufacture was still carried on under the domestic system, but about 30,000 power looms were in operation in 1846. The use of steam and the railway had likewise appeared, so that in 1850 France counted more than 5000 steam plants. Late as it was, the Industrial Revolution came in France sooner than in any other country on the continent.

A large factory population had grown up by 1848 in the industrial cities like Bordeaux, Lyon, Toulouse, and Paris. French workingmen were influenced by the new socialistic ideas more than the working class of any other country. Nor is this a matter for surprise. These ideas had their origin in the French Revolution (§ 327), and, like all ideas of that turbulent period, developed most rapidly on their native soil. The chief spokesman of socialism during this period was *Louis Blanc*, a young editor, who insisted especially on the "right to work." The state, he urged, owes every man the right to profitable employment. To insure that right he wished the government to establish workshops in different trades and give employment to all who wanted it and could not get it elsewhere. In the end, he thought, the workers would manage and own the workshops. These and similar socialistic ideas appealed to the masses, already suffering from oppression by the capitalists and watching with bitter feelings the luxurious and vicious life of many among the upper classes. They now became the willing allies of Thiers.

The old republicans, led by the poet, *Lamartine*, who had been disappointed in the revolution of 1830 (§ 307), were ready to join in the attack upon the government. The secret societies, too, worked feverishly to organize risings.

335. The "February Days." — The Liberals had arranged a great political demonstration in Paris, for February 22, 1848, but the government prohibited it. Although the leaders obeyed, all day the streets were filled with angry crowds, shouting for the downfall of Guizot's ministry. The National Guards, when

called out to disperse the crowds, themselves took up the cry. The next day Guizot resigned, and Thiers took his place.

At first tranquillity seemed restored, but that night a collision occurred between the military and the crowd in which some fifty people fell. The republicans and the socialists seized the chance to rouse the masses against the monarchy. Bodies of the slain were paraded through the poorer quarters of the city. Barricades arose here and there, but the troops quietly restored order. Next morning, February 24, Thiers ordered the withdrawal of the troops. This move encouraged the radicals, and dense masses of insurgents, armed workingmen, National Guards, marched from all sides against the palace of the Tuileries, massacred the guards and destroyed the property of the royal family. Louis Philippe fled in disguise and escaped to England. His rule had lost the support of the middle classes and collapsed; with it fell the short-lived ministry of Thiers.

336. Triumph of the Republicans. — The Chamber of Deputies was about to proclaim the infant grandson of Louis Philippe as king when the room was invaded by a howling mob, flourishing muskets and butcher knives, and calling for a republic. In the midst of this tumult a few deputies who kept their seats and were in sympathy with the mob hastily formed a provisional government.

The mob at once escorted this body to the Hôtel de Ville (the city hall), where it found another provisional government already set up by the radicals and socialists. By compromise, some of this latter body were incorporated in the first. The *Provisional Government* was now made up of three elements: Lamartine represented the moderate republicans; Ledru-Rollin was the representative of the radical republicans ("the Reds"), who wished to return to the "Terror" of 1793; and Louis Blanc represented the socialists. On the whole Lamartine proved to be the guiding spirit.

337. National Workshops. — The new government had to face difficult problems. The wealthy middle class was sorely

disappointed at the turn of events. They never wished or dreamed of a republic, for they well knew that such a change would destroy their influence and bring the socialists to the front. And so it proved to be. The government, to appease the masses, took a fateful step: It affirmed the principle of the "right to work." A few days later this decree was given more specific meaning by the establishment of "national workshops" for the unemployed. In the panic that followed the "February Days" great numbers of men had been thrown out of work. The government now organized these men in Paris, as they applied, into a "workshop army," in brigades, companies, and squads — paying full wages to all it could employ and a three-fourths wage to those obliged to remain idle.

Over one hundred thousand men, many of them idlers and agitators from other cities, were enrolled in this way; but, except for a little work on the streets, the government had no employment ready for such numbers. The enormous expense of the experiment had to be met by increased taxation. In the end the whole undertaking served only to give a formidable organization to a terrible force with which the new republic would soon have to reckon.

338. A new Constituent Assembly, elected by manhood suffrage, met May 4. The revolution, like that of 1830, had been confined to Paris. The rest of France had not cared to interfere in behalf of Louis Philippe, but felt no enthusiasm for a republic, and it abhorred the "Reds" and the socialists. This, too, was the temper of the new Assembly. It accepted the revolution, but was determined to put down the radicals.

When the Paris mob realized this, it rose once more (May 15) and burst into the legislative hall, holding possession for three turbulent hours. At last, however, some middle-class battalions of the National Guards arrived to rescue the Assembly.

339. The Radical Revolt, June 23-26. — The Assembly decided to follow up its victory, and after making military preparations, it closed the national workshops on June 21. The

abruptness of the act was a blunder. The men who benefited by the national workshops rose, aided by their semimilitary organization and commanded by leaders of military skill, though no one knew who they were. The Assembly appointed General Cavaignac to the command of the government troops. Both sides knew what was at stake: order, or another "Terror."

For four days the conflict raged — the most terrible struggle that even turbulent Paris had ever witnessed. Over sixteen thousand men perished. Among the victims was the venerable Archbishop of Paris, who was shot when he mounted a barricade and tried to pacify the insurgents. Finally the superior discipline of the Assembly's troops crushed the rebels. Of the eleven thousand prisoners taken, some were shot, others deported for life. The middle class was once more in control of affairs.

340. The Second Republic. — The Assembly now turned to its work of making a constitution. The result of its labors was published in November, without being submitted to a popular vote. It provided for a legislature of one house and for a four-year president, both to be chosen by manhood suffrage. A month later (December 10) *Louis Napoleon*, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, was elected president by an overwhelming majority.

Louis Napoleon owed his election to his name. Since the exile and death of the first Napoleon a *Napoleonic legend* had grown up which cast a halo about his memory. Bonaparte's crimes and tyranny were forgotten; he came to be regarded by the masses as a truly great patriot who was pursued by the Allies because he loved France so well. His portrait as emperor was to be found in half the peasants' cottages from Flanders to the Pyrenees. Brilliant writers and poets had made him a national hero. In countless village taverns his old soldiers told tales, over their wine, of his victorious campaigns. In 1840 his remains had been brought back from St. Helena to Paris amid outbursts of enthusiasm and enshrined in the Hôtel des Invalides.

Although he had led a rather aimless life as an adventurer, Louis Napoleon had long believed that he was destined to revive the rule of his family. Twice in the early years of Louis Philippe's reign he had tried to stir up a Napoleonic revolution, only to become the laughingstock of Europe. But now to the peasantry and the middle class, alarmed by the specter of socialism, Napoleon's name seemed the symbol of order and peace. He received over five and a half million votes, against about one and a half million for General Cavaignac, his next rival.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE, 1852-1870

341. General Discontent with the Republic. — Napoleon had pledged his faith to the constitution repeatedly, but he plotted from the first to overthrow it. In this design the Assembly played into his hands. Being essentially a middle class body, it was in mortal fear of the radicals and the socialistic working classes. To check them it at once curtailed the freedom of the press, and in 1850 “reformed” the election laws in such a manner as to deprive about three million workingmen of their vote.

After the law restricting the franchise was passed, Napoleon criticized it vehemently and so appeared to the workingmen as their champion. At the same time, the discontent of the masses made the middle class fear a new revolution, and so that class, too, turned to Napoleon as the sole hope for order. The old royalists lacked union, being divided into adherents of the grandson of Charles X and adherents of Louis Philippe or his son. The royalists were most numerous among the Catholics, and as the clergy largely favored Napoleon, the latter had little fear of resistance from the royalists. All classes dreaded the close of Napoleon's four-year presidency and the possibility of another revolution. The constitution forbade a reëlection, and an attempt to amend this clause was defeated in the Assembly. As a consequence that body lost the support of all classes, and Napoleon could overthrow it with impunity.

342. The *Coup d'Etat* of 1851. — In half-royal tours through the country Napoleon had been preparing the nation for his plans. He freely found fault with the Assembly, and his speeches

were filled with references to the "glory" of the former French Empire, and to the benefits conferred upon France by "my great uncle." After putting all important offices in the army and civil administration into the hands of his tools and trusted friends, on December 2, 1851, he carried out the most striking *coup d'état* in all French history.

During the preceding night, some eighty men whose opposition was especially feared — journalists, generals, and leaders in the Assembly (Thiers and Cavaignac among them) — were privately arrested and imprisoned; and all printing offices in the city were seized by Napoleon's troops. In the morning the amazed people found the city posted with startling placards. These announced the dissolution of the Assembly, proposed a new government with Napoleon at its head, and promised an appeal to the nation for ratification.

The Assembly was dispersed by soldiers and most of the members imprisoned. During the next few days the radicals began to raise barricades here and there in the streets, but the troops easily took them and restored order. The unsafe districts of France were put under martial law, and the police continued the work of "pacification" by numerous arbitrary arrests and transportation to penal colonies.

With Napoleon in complete power and all enemies rendered helpless, on December 21 the country was invited to vote Yes or No upon a new constitution, making Napoleon President for ten years with dictatorial power. France "ratified" this proposal by a vote of more than six million out of eight million. Everybody foresaw the next step. In November of the following year a still larger vote made the daring adventurer *Emperor of the French*, under the title Napoleon III. (The Bonapartists counted the son of Napoleon I as Napoleon II, though he never reigned.) On December 2, the anniversary of the coronation of the first Napoleon, he was solemnly enthroned. From this account it is plain how closely Louis Napoleon followed the footsteps of "my great uncle."

The unanimity in the vote was due partly to shameless interference at the polls. The army voted first, for an example. In many places the rural population was marched to the polls under military authority. Such measures, however, were hardly necessary to secure a large majority. Apart from a small number of royalists, republicans, and socialists, France threw itself into the arms of Napoleon.

343. The Government of the Second Empire. —

The methods employed by Louis Napoleon in his government were modeled closely upon those of Napoleon I. The people elected a Legislative Chamber (with a little more power than under the First Empire), but the emperor appointed a Senate and a Council of State, and, for some years, he kept in his hands the sole right of introducing laws. Moreover, he himself filled all offices, made treaties, and declared war.



NAPOLEON III

Outside the court political life was practically ended. For every elective office the government had its own candidate, whose way was made smooth and easy. The opposition was seriously hampered in holding meetings and in using the mails for the spread of campaign literature. The police supervised the ballot boxes and, no doubt, sometimes "stuffed" them. Hostile newspapers were freely suppressed, and those favorable to the government heavily subsidized. An extensive system of espionage watched every suspected person. Under the *Law of Public Security* Napoleon could legally send suspects to penal colonies without trial, as he had been doing illegally

before. Upon the passage of this law (1858) an order was sent to every prefect to arrest a fixed number of persons in his department, using his choice in selecting them. The purpose was merely to intimidate the nation.

Napoleon grew more liberal during the last ten years of his reign. Greater freedom of debate was granted to the Chamber, and, toward the end, even the odious Law of Public Security was repealed.

344. Progress under the Empire. — France under the Empire made great material and economic advance. Industry was encouraged. Paris and the government itself started vast new enterprises which gave employment to thousands of men. The capital and other leading cities were rebuilt upon a magnificent scale. Education and charitable work flourished. Napoleon displayed great splendor at his court, which set the pace for the upper classes and those who were being rapidly enriched by the progress of industry and commerce. Unfortunately, the moral tone declined proportionately, and the vices of high society increased the discontent of the working classes, which still suffered in misery and wretchedness. Socialism, which had received so severe a check in the "June Days," was by no means dying out. From the smoldering ashes there was to leap a flaming conflagration when the glittering structure of the Second Empire collapsed before the foreign foe (§ 421).

345. Military Triumphs at First. — In 1852 Napoleon had declared "The empire means peace," but he found himself irresistibly impelled to war in order to keep the favor of the army and the populace by reviving the glories of the First Empire. His foreign policy soon became aggressive, and the first eight years of his reign saw a series of victories that dazzled France. For forty years, ever since the fall of Napoleon I, Europe had been free from great wars. Napoleon III reintroduced them. The two most important wars of this period were the *Crimean* (1854-1856) and the *Italian* (1859).

a. The Roman Catholics in the Turkish Empire for some

time had been under the protection of France. Russia performed the same office in regard to the schismatical Greek Catholics. Tsar Nicholas I, convinced that Turkey, the "sick man of Europe," could not last much longer, under the excuse of his protectorate put forward greater demands. He hoped thereby to provoke the Turkish sultan to war, which would enable him to annex the best part, if not all, of the Turkish dominions. England, fearing that Russia would advance to the Mediterranean and endanger her route to India, supported Turkey. Napoleon did the same, to maintain French prestige at home and abroad.

The struggle was waged mainly in the Crimea, Russia's naval base,¹ and took its name from that Black Sea peninsula.² Russia was defeated, but no permanent results of importance were achieved. However, at the close of the contest, Napoleon gathered representatives of all the leading powers in a congress at Paris, and France seemed again to have become the leader in European politics. Napoleon was then at the height of his power, and as a son was born to him just as the congress was sitting, the future of the Napoleonic dynasty seemed assured.

b. Sardinia, an Italian state which had taken part in the Crimean war, sent to the congress the *Count of Cavour*, the man destined to make modern Italy. He left the congress with definite promises from Napoleon to assist Sardinia in driving the Austrians out of their Italian possessions. In 1859 Louis Napoleon was called upon to redeem his pledges (§ 362). He

¹ The Crimean peninsula was the scene of the famous siege of Sevastopol, of the battles of Inkerman and Balaklava. Read Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade."

² In this campaign Florence Nightingale, a wealthy Englishwoman, with a band of devoted women and Catholic Sisters, distinguished herself in caring for the sick and wounded soldiers. The Red Cross organization for nursing the wounded soldiers is of later date. In 1864 an international convention was held at Geneva, Switzerland, which arranged that those who took care of the wounded should not be fired on in battle. Their emblem, the white flag with the red cross, is the flag of Switzerland with the colors reversed.

came and won striking victories at *Magenta* and *Solferino*, near the scene of the early triumphs of the first Napoleon over the same foe, and then made an unexpected peace, to the disappointment and wrath of the Italians. For his reward, Napoleon received from Sardinia *Nice* and *Savoy*, and so recovered for France some of the territory which was lost in the second peace of Paris (§ 285).

346. Humiliation and Defeat. — The second half of Napoleon's rule was a complete contrast to the first half. It was marked by a series of humiliations and blunders in foreign affairs hitherto unknown. Napoleon favored the Southern Confederacy in the American Civil War and repeatedly urged England to unite with him in acknowledging it as an independent state. Thus he incurred the hostility of the United States.

The *Mexican fiasco* came in 1863. Mexico, in one of its revolutions, had repudiated its debts. Several European governments, including France, had sent fleets to its ports to compel payment to their citizens. However, it soon became plain that Napoleon meant more than a mere collection of debts, and the other governments withdrew from the enterprise. Napoleon then sent a large army which easily overthrew the Mexican Republic and set up as "Emperor of Mexico" his protégé, Maximilian, an Austrian prince, brother of Emperor Francis Joseph.

Napoleon expected (1) to secure to France a larger share in the Mexican trade, (2) to increase the prestige of France as an arbiter in the destinies of nations, and (3) to forward a union of the Latin people of Europe and America, under French leadership, as an offset to the ever growing power of the Anglo-Saxon states. His act was a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine of the United States, but he seemed triumphant until the close of the American Civil War. Then the government of the United States demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico. Napoleon shamefully abandoned Maximilian to his

fate, and the latter was soon overthrown by the Mexican republicans, captured, and shot, June 19, 1867.

Much more serious were the failures of Napoleon's attempts on the Rhine frontier. These defeats brought about his fall in 1870. That story cannot be told until we have studied the rise of Germany.

CHAPTER XXX

REVOLUTION THROUGHOUT EUROPE, 1848

347. The "Year of Revolutions." — In central Europe Metternich's system lasted until 1848. Discontent, however, had long been rife. In Germany two parties opposed the system: those who longed for a strong united Germany with reasonably liberal constitutions, and the more radical elements whose ideal was the First French Republic or a state founded on socialistic principles. Metternich himself — now an old man — saw the storm clouds. In January, 1848, he wrote to a friend, "The world is very sick. The one thing certain is that tremendous changes are coming." A month later, the February rising in Paris gave the signal for March risings in other lands. Metternich resigned and fled from revolutionary Vienna, and thrones tottered all over Europe, except in stable conservative England on the west, and in stable despotic Russia on the east. Even in these two the tremors of distant convulsions were felt.

The kings of Holland, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, to save their crowns, granted constitutions and many liberties, all within a few days. In every German state, large or small, the rulers did the like. So, too, in the leading Italian states, Sardinia, Tuscany, the Papal States, and Naples. In all those countries the administration passed for a time into the hands of liberal ministries pledged to reform. Everywhere, too, the remaining feudal privileges were finally abolished.

Outside France (§§ 335-340), the chief interest centers (1) in *Austria*, the storm center; (2) in the *Germanic Confederation*, so long under the control of Metternich; (3) in *Italy*, part of which was subject to Austria.

THE REVOLUTION IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

348. Outbreak in Vienna. — In the provinces of Austria proper there had been, on the whole, little discontent during Metternich's administration. Restrictions on the press and the absence of popular vote for parliament were hardly felt by the common people, who enjoyed tranquillity and a moderate amount of prosperity. Gradually, however, revolutionary ideas entered the country, here as elsewhere fostered by foreign secret societies and their emissaries. The Italian revolutionaries, especially, took pains to foment discontent in order to prepare the way for the overthrow of Austrian rule in Italy. These new ideas found their most fertile soil among the students at the universities.



METTERNICH

Two weeks after the French rising, on March 14, the students of the University of Vienna began street riots to the cry, "Down with Metternich." The mob of the city joined them, and Metternich resigned, making a secret escape from the capital. The crowds about the imperial palace began to call for a constitution with freedom of speech and an elected legislature. The emperor promised these and other reforms and appointed a liberal ministry. National Guards were then organized, and a committee for the "defense of the rights of the people" was formed. But when this committee went further in its demands the liberal ministry dissolved it. New riots followed, during which the weak Emperor Ferdinand left the city, and the whole government fell into the hands of the rioters and the newly

formed National Guards. Faithful to the French model, they at once organized a "Committee of Public Safety."

349. Rising in Bohemia. — In the Austrian Empire the revolutionary movement was complicated by the national problems. The monarchy included many nations, some small, others large and with a history and traditions of their own. Two of the latter now demanded more self-government. These were Bohemia and Hungary. In the former the Slavic *Czechs* were the predominant race, in Hungary the *Magyars* (who are not Slavs, but originally a Mongolian tribe). The Czechs summoned a congress of all Slavic peoples within the empire to Prague, the capital of Bohemia. Its purpose was greater freedom and greater union for all the Slavs within the empire. There was no thought of complete separation from Austria. In fact, Palacky, the president of the congress, is the author of the famous phrase, "If the Austrian Imperial State did not exist already, it would have to be invented." However, side by side with these moderate elements there were in Prague many extremists, university students, fugitive foreign revolutionists, and the like. It was this body that flew to arms and was subdued by the Austrian troops only after bloody street fighting. The congress broke up without accomplishing anything.

350. The Hungarian Revolt. — The Hungarians demanded a separate ministry, the annual summons of their Diet, and the abolition of the censorship of the press. Ferdinand granted these demands, since for the present he was unable to resist with armed force. The troops were needed in Italy, where the revolution had broken out in the Austrian provinces there. (See § 358.)

The Hungarians were not satisfied with the concessions so far obtained. Under the leadership of *Lajos Kossuth*, a journalist with republican ideas, they began to sever one after another the bonds of union with Austria. On the other hand, they endeavored to tighten their hold on the Slavic peoples in Hungary, thus claiming liberty for themselves while denying it to

others. But the Slavs were unwilling to bear the Magyar yoke and were encouraged in their resistance by the court of Vienna, to which the emperor had returned. Jellačić, the Slavic governor of Croatia, marched against the Hungarian capital.

The emperor, after an attempt to reconcile the Magyars had failed, appointed Jellačić commander in chief of the imperial troops in Hungary, and civil war began. The new purely Hungarian army raised by Kossuth defeated Jellačić, who passed over into Austria. The Hungarian revolt seemed victorious.

351. Failure of the Revolution in Vienna and Hungary. — To prevent imperial troops from going to Hungary the revolutionary party organized a new outbreak in Vienna. The emperor fled again, but the troops that had quashed the insurrection in Prague now marched upon Vienna and were joined by Jellačić's forces. The city was stormed after bloody fighting, and the leaders that did not escape suffered the penalty of high treason (October 31, 1848).

Emperor Ferdinand abdicated in December of the same year and was followed by his nephew *Francis Joseph* (1848–1916). The latter at once gave a general constitution to the entire monarchy, which involved the abolition of all separate constitutions. The Hungarians refused to acknowledge the abdication of Ferdinand and the new constitution, declared their independence, and proclaimed the *Hungarian Republic* with Kossuth as president. The young emperor determined to crush the rebels, but his troops were defeated in several successive engagements. Kossuth and his friends were jubilant, but they had not reckoned with the possibility of foreign intervention.

Such intervention now came from Russia. Tsar Nicholas I, who feared that the revolution, if successful, might spread to his Polish territory, offered armed assistance to Francis Joseph. The young ruler accepted, and the combined Russian and Austrian armies soon put an end to Hungarian independence. Kossuth and others escaped, but a large number of Magyar leaders were put to death. Hungary lost its separate government and

its Slavic provinces and was completely merged in the Austrian Empire. The galling memories of these events remained for almost twenty years, but in 1867 Hungary received back its self-government and its lost provinces (§§ 372, 456).

THE REVOLUTION IN THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION

352. Prussia. — The news of the March risings in Vienna reacted on *Berlin*, but here again the masses of the people did not dream of violence and bloodshed. Only a handful of radicals and socialists stirred up revolt. Disturbances began on March 15. Three days later King Frederick William IV promised to work for a regeneration of Prussia and Germany by coöperation with representatives of the people. An immense crowd gathered before the royal palaces, ostensibly to thank the king. But with the cheers were mixed cries for the withdrawal of the troops and insults against the army. Two chance shots fired in the air turned the enthusiastic crowd into a raging mob. Barricades rose as if by magic. A murderous fight ensued from street to street. The soldiers were victorious, but only after about two hundred persons had fallen. The king, desirous of preventing further bloodshed, ordered the troops to withdraw and sent his brother William (later emperor) out of the city, as he was an object of special dislike to the people.

The king was forced to stand bareheaded on the balcony of his palace the next day while the funeral procession of the victims passed by. Numerous concessions were made to popular demands. The king called a Prussian Assembly that was to work upon a new constitution. He also tried to head the movement for German national union. "From now on," he declared, "the interests of Prussia will be absorbed by those of Germany."

353. The Frankfurt Parliament. — The widespread demand throughout the German states for national unity and reasonable liberty resulted in the assembly at Frankfurt in March of about five hundred delegates. They were rather informally chosen

and in no sense represented the nation, but they prepared the way for a national assembly to be elected by manhood suffrage in every German state. The elections were duly held, the people taking an enthusiastic part in them. On May 18 the first really representative parliament began its sessions in Frankfurt. It elected Archduke John of Austria administrator, and gave him a responsible ministry. The old Diet of the Confederation recognized the new assembly and disbanded.

The delegates to the Frankfurt Parliament were men of talent and lofty character but of very little experience in politics. They frittered away their time debating theories and bills of rights while all chance of securing rights was being lost. For in the meantime Austria, where the most determined resistance to any change in the Confederation was to be expected, had crushed the revolt in Bohemia (§ 349) and Italy (§ 358) and thus had her hands free to interfere in German affairs. The king of Prussia had quarreled with his constitutional assembly and dissolved it. He himself then granted a constitution, but of very conservative character, as his enthusiasm for popular assemblies had begun to cool off.

The two most urgent questions before the parliament were: (1) should the new German state be a monarchy or a republic, and (2) should the new nation include Austria with her vast non-German population? On the first point they easily came to an agreement. The vast majority of the delegates would not hear of a republic. But the second question called forth endless debates. The party of Little Germany, as it was named, favored the total exclusion of Austria, while the Great Germany party demanded the inclusion of the Hapsburg lands, but was divided on the further question whether all of Austria or only her German-speaking peoples should be included. Intimately connected with these disputes was another point, whether Austria or Prussia should hold the leadership of the future German state.

Long discussions on these questions followed. Finally, in the spring of 1849, the parliament decided that Austria should be

excluded and that the crown of the new German empire should be offered to the king of Prussia. But to the disappointment of the German nationalists, neither Austria nor Prussia would agree to these proposals. The former had by this time regained control of her rebellious provinces. In answer to the Frankfurt resolution she curtly announced that she "would neither let herself be expelled from the Germanic Confederation nor let her German provinces be separated from the indivisible Austrian monarchy." When, in spite of this, a delegation from the parliament offered the king of Prussia the dignity of German emperor, he declined, declaring he would accept only if all the German states (that is, their princes) would give their consent. Privately, he held the Frankfurt assembly in contempt as a body tinged "with the odor of revolution."

As the consent of all the princes was out of the question, the hopes of the patriots were shattered. Stubborn conservatism on the part of the monarchs had put off the unification of Germany. The parliament disbanded. Some of its more radical supporters started local revolutions here and there in the smaller states, which were quelled chiefly with the help of Prussian troops. The leaders fled, some, like Carl Schurz and General Sigel, to the United States.

354. Failure of Prussian Attempt at Unity. — After the effort of the parliament came to naught, Prussian statesmen tried another way of forming a German union, to the exclusion of all Austria. In the summer of 1849 Prussia entered into an alliance with several North German states, with the intention of gradually extending the alliance over all Germany. Austria then protested and organized the South German states into a counter-league. Soon afterward she demanded the restoration of the Germanic Confederation of 1815.

For a while it seemed as if Austria and Prussia would go to war over the question of German unity, but the Prussian army was not ready, and the tsar offered to aid Austria in Germany as he had done in Hungary. Frederick William IV, who in

the meantime had given a constitution of his own to Prussia, feared to break a lance for a German constitution, and in a conference at Olmütz (November, 1850) he yielded to all demands of Austria.¹ The old Confederation with its powerless Diet at Frankfurt was restored. The problem of unifying Germany was to be solved twenty years later, not by parliaments and conferences, but by the "blood-and-iron" policy of Bismarck.

THE REVOLUTION IN ITALY

355. The Italian Peninsula before 1815. — Italian unity was destroyed with the fall of the Roman Empire. The migration of peoples and the settling of the barbarians on Italian soil had created a population different from the race that once had ruled the world. It was different, too, in the various parts of Italy. The North, where the Lombards had settled, became more Teutonic in character and temper, while the South remained more Latin. Throughout the Middle Ages foreign nations, the Germans, French, and Spaniards, had alternately ruled parts of the peninsula and left on them the traces of their character and institutions. This explains why down to the nineteenth century few, if any, Italians conceived the idea of a united and independent Italy. This idea was born under Napoleon's régime. His proclamations to the Italian people awakened hope for a new national life and his introduction of civil equality and uniform law paved the way for it (§§ 249, 258, 271).

Later, when the European coalition was struggling with Napoleon in 1813 and 1814, the allied generals enkindled the enthusiasm of the Italians by glowing promises. An English force landed at Genoa, with its flag inscribed "Italian Liberty and Independence," and the Austrian proclamations announced: "We come to you as liberators. Long have you groaned beneath oppression. You shall be an independent nation."

¹ This was called the "Humiliation of Olmütz."

356. Suppression of Italian Nationality. — The Congress of Vienna ignored these promises. Even some of the improvements of Napoleon were undone and absolutist conditions restored. Lombardy and Venetia became Austrian provinces (§ 286), and most of the remainder of the peninsula came under Austrian influence. Bourbon rule was restored in the South over the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Dukes dependent upon Austria were set up in Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Between these duchies and the Two Sicilies lay the restored Papal States. In the northwest the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia was given back to its native line of rulers, to whom the people were loyally attached. This and the Papal States were the only Italian principalities where the rulers were not dependent on Austria. But Sardinia, like the rest, was until 1848 a military despotism. "Italy," said Metternich complacently, "is merely a geographical expression."

357. Agitation for Italian Liberty and Unity. — We have seen how the Italian revolutions of 1820 were put down by the Holy Alliance (§§ 297-299). It will be remembered, too, that nearly all these revolutions were the work of secret societies, the Carbonari and others. In 1831, after the July Revolution of the previous year in France, new revolts broke out in the Papal States and in the duchies. These failed too, partly for lack of popular support, as they were merely the work of conspirators. Austrian troops were marched into the affected districts and made short work of the insurrections.

A new secret society, *Young Italy*, was founded as a result of the failure of the Carbonari in all the risings since 1820. It was the work of *Giuseppe Mazzini*, a young lawyer of Genoa and an ardent admirer of the French Revolution. It hoped to establish a united Italian republic, which meant, of course, the overthrow of the Italian princes as well as the expulsion of the Austrians and the abolition of the temporal sovereignty of the pope. To achieve its end the new society was to use "thought and action," that is, literary propaganda and continual insur-

rections. A fierce hatred of the Catholic Church as the principal enemy was one of its characteristics; many of its members even hoped that the destruction of the Papal States would mean the end of the papacy.

Young Italy spread rapidly through the peninsula and beyond it, finding imitators in France, Germany, Switzerland, and many other European states. The first risings organized by Young Italy occurred in 1833 and 1834, but were speedily subdued. Mazzini fled to London and made that city the center of his intrigues. *Giuseppe Garibaldi*, another member of the society, who played an important part in later insurrections, fled to South America.

Another liberal party, the *Moderates*, sought to promote Italian unity by their writings, which were to arouse the enthusiasm of the people. Most of the Moderates favored a confederation of the existing Italian states, somewhat after the pattern of the United States of America.



GIUSEPPE MAZZINI

A new pope, the gentle and generous *Pius IX*, ascended the papal throne in 1846. He was credited with liberal and progressive views, and his first acts justified these expectations. He began his reign with an extensive amnesty of political criminals who were in Roman prisons on account of their share in previous revolts. Relaxation of press censorship, the creation of a liberal ministry and of National Guards, and finally the appointment of a commission to draw up a constitution for the Papal States were measures that excited universal enthusiasm. Many of the Moderates believed that the new pope would head a movement for the unification of Italy. However, he was ill requited for his generosity. Many of those whom he had

released from imprisonment at once began to intrigue against him and excite the people to demand impossible changes, which

prevented sane and reasonable reform.



POPE PIUS IX

358. The Revolution of 1848. — When the news of the revolt in Vienna and Metternich's flight became known, Milan and Venice drove out their Austrian garrisons (March 15) and set up provisional governments. King *Charles Albert of Sardinia*, to prevent an insurrection in his own state, put himself at the head of the revolutionary movement and declared war on Austria. Mazzini and Garibaldi returned, Naples and

Tuscany joined Sardinia in the war. Pius IX was vehemently urged by the Roman radicals to do the same, but as the common father of Christendom he steadfastly refused. England, on the other hand, secretly and openly encouraged the rising and supplied arms and money.¹

Despite this the tide turned against Charles Albert. The aged Austrian general, *Radetzky*, administered a severe defeat to the Sardinian king at *Custoza* (July 15), and pursued the retreating enemy as far as Milan, where the Austrian rule was reëstablished. Charles Albert then obtained a truce from the Austrian general.

In other states the radicals and Mazzinists had taken matters into their own hands. In *Venice* and *Florence* they proclaimed republics. Pius IX was driven from Rome by the revolution-

¹ England's encouragement of the Italian revolts was prompted partly by her sympathy with all liberal movements on the continent, partly by her desire to see a strong Italian state on the flank of Napoleonic France.

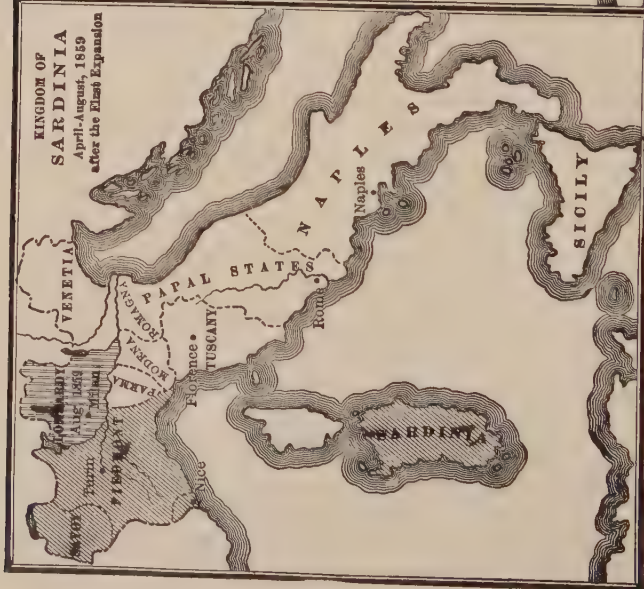
ary rabble that had gathered there from the entire peninsula (November 24). He found a temporary asylum in Gaeta near Naples. Mazzini and his friends then set up a *Roman Republic*, summoned a constitutional assembly which decreed the deposition of Pius IX, and decided for "pure democracy." The leaders, however, did not forget to fill their pockets with treasures stolen from the churches and religious institutions of Rome.

In northern Italy the radicals clamored for the renewal of hostilities against Austria, and Charles Albert had to choose between that and the loss of his crown. He preferred war. Radetzky won another brilliant victory at *Novara* (March 23, 1849), and Venice was retaken soon after. Charles Albert then resigned in favor of his son, *Victor Emmanuel*. The defeat of Sardinia ended the revolution in the duchies.

A storm of indignation was aroused in Catholic countries by the expulsion of the pope. Louis Napoleon, then president of France (§ 340), was forced by public opinion to send an expedition to Rome. The French troops stormed the city, and Mazzini and his friends fled. Pius IX returned to Rome amid the wild rejoicing of his people. Until 1870 a French garrison was stationed in Rome for the protection of the pope.

359. Summary of Political Conditions in 1850. — The revolution as well as the attempts at national union had failed everywhere, chiefly because the movement was largely in the hands of radicals or unpractical theorists, whose words and actions offended the good sense of the majority. In Italy it closed with *Novara* (March, 1849), in Hungary with the fall of the republic (July, 1849), in Germany with the humiliation of Prussia at *Olmütz* (December, 1850). A year later it closed in France with Napoleon's *coup d'état* (§ 342).

But the problems still remained. The popular demand for a greater share in the government would not stop. The union of the German states and the creation of a united Italy still occupied men's minds. Both were to be accomplished in the near future, not by revolutionaries, but by unscrupulous statesmen.



CHAPTER XXXI

THE MAKING OF ITALY

360. Cavour Takes the Leadership. — The abdication of Charles Albert of Sardinia and the accession of Victor Emmanuel mark a turning point in the history of modern Italy. Up to this time the driving forces had been secret societies and republican agitators. Now Victor Emmanuel and his chief minister, *Cavour*, assume the direction of the movement, using the secret societies, Young Italy, and the republicans as their tools. Italy is not to be a republic nor a confederation of the existing states, but merely an extension of the Kingdom of Sardinia. One state after another will be annexed to Sardinia, and after the process is nearly finished the ruler of Sardinia will simply assume the title "King of Italy."



THE COUNT OF CAVOUR

The Count of Cavour, one of the shrewdest statesmen of the century, began his eventful career in 1852 when he became prime minister of Victor Emmanuel. The spirit which animated him soon showed itself in the wholesale suppression of monasteries and confiscation of their property, the deposition and imprisonment of protesting bishops. In order to accomplish his main

object, the annexation of Italy to Sardinia, he labored strenuously to strengthen the military and economic resources of that little kingdom. The army was enlarged and remodeled after the Prussian plan, and the wealth of the country increased by reviving the shipping trade of Genoa. A constitution had been introduced in 1849, but the people were not yet ripe for an intelligent share in the government, and the king wielded as before almost absolute power.

361. Cavour Secures the Support of France. — A united Italy meant war with Austria, for that state would never willingly relinquish its hold on the Italian provinces. The events of 1848 had proved that the Italians unaided were no match for the Austrian armies (§ 358). Cavour, therefore, endeavored to secure allies outside Italy. He persuaded the king to send a small Sardinian detachment to assist France and England in the Crimean War (§ 345*a*). Although Sardinian interests were in no way concerned in that war, it gave Cavour a chance to sit in the council of the great powers.

This clever plan bore fruit at the Congress of Paris, in 1856. Cavour had acquired a standing among the great powers and earned the gratitude of England and France, and he now made full use of it. In public discussions and private interviews he incessantly drew the attention of the European statesmen to the real and imaginary grievances of Italy. When the Congress adjourned he was sufficiently assured that in provoking a war with Austria he would have the assistance of France and the benevolent neutrality of the others.

362. Lombardy, the First Step. — After the Congress of Paris the war with Austria was the constant topic of correspondence between Cavour and Napoleon III. The reason why the latter promised his aid was not so much gratitude for the help received in the Crimean War as the desire to lessen Austrian power in Italy and replace it with French influence.

Cavour's pleadings with Napoleon were materially helped by an unexpected event. On January 14, 1858, a daring,

though unsuccessful, attempt was made on Napoleon's life. The plot was carried out by an Italian revolutionist, Orsini, who had been expelled from Rome. Before his execution he wrote a letter to the French emperor and reminded him of the fact that as a young man he (Napoleon) had joined the Carbonari and had sworn to work for "the liberation of Italy." Napoleon took the warning. In a hurried interview he and Cavour came to a definite agreement: in return for a pledge of Nice and Savoy, which had once been French (§ 285), and for a marriage alliance,¹ Napoleon promised to come to the aid of Sardinia with a French army, if Cavour could provoke Austria into a declaration of war.

Cavour then inveigled Austria into the attack. Napoleon at once entered Italy, declaring it his purpose to free it "from the Alps to the Adriatic." His victories of *Magenta* and *Solferino* (§ 345) drove the Austrians out of *Lombardy*, which was promptly annexed to Sardinia. This was the first step in the expansion of Sardinia into Italy. The population of the growing state had risen at one stroke from five million to eight.

363. Although Venetia still remained under Austrian rule, Napoleon suddenly made peace. Cavour was enraged because of his breach of the promise to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, but Napoleon had no wish that Italy should be one consolidated nation. His plans tended toward a strong northern Italy and in a vague way toward the federation of all Italian states under the presidency of the pope. Besides, public opinion among French Catholics loudly condemned a policy which would eventually lead to the annexation of the Papal States. Cavour, to save his popularity, resigned in disgust, but he remained as before the soul of the Italian agitation.

364. Second Step: The Annexation of the Duchies. — Insurrections, carefully prepared by Cavour and his secret agents, had broken out in the duchies at the beginning of the

¹ Victor Emmanuel was persuaded to sacrifice his young daughter by giving her in marriage to the dissolute Prince Napoleon, a cousin of Napoleon III.

war. *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Tuscany* had driven out their dukes (dependents of Austria) and set up provisional governments. At the peace, Napoleon had promised to Austria that the dukes should be restored. Seeing, however, the indignation of the Italians at his half-kept promises and having not yet received his promised reward, Nice and Savoy, he gave Cavour to understand that the former governments of the duchies should not be restored against the will of their inhabitants. Cavour took the hint. The matter was to be left to popular vote. Everything was managed so cleverly that, in March, 1860, the three duchies by large majorities declared for annexation to Sardinia. This was the second step in the making of Italy. Sardinia was enlarged once more by one third and now became a state of eleven million people, comprising all Italy north of the Papal States, except Venetia.

365. The Third Step : Garibaldi's Expedition. — Garibaldi, one of the leaders of the agitation for Italian unity, some years previously had been forced to flee to the United States. A republican in 1849, he had now transferred his allegiance to Victor Emmanuel. In May, 1860, he sailed from Genoa with a thousand red-shirted fellow adventurers, to arouse rebellion in *Sicily*. Cavour, though denying all participation in the expedition, had everything prepared for the success of the undertaking. The Sardinian embassy in Naples was the center of a network of intrigues spreading over the whole Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The loyalty of army and navy was undermined by bribery and conspiracy. After the expedition was safely under way Cavour, in a note to the powers, expressed his "regret" at these illegal proceedings, but at the same time he sent an order to the admiral of the Sardinian fleet, "Try to place your ships between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers. I hope you understand me." The admiral understood very well that he was to protect, not to hinder, the expedition. Other orders commanded him to furnish supplies and money to Garibaldi and to the conspirators in Naples.

After landing safely in Sicily, Garibaldi won the island almost without bloodshed. Treason did the work. Crossing over to the mainland, he defeated the royal troops and occupied *Naples*, from which the king had fled (September, 1860). Elated by these successes, he thought of conquering the Papal States and Rome and of summoning Victor Emmanuel to Rome, to be crowned King of Italy. However, Cavour thought differently.



MONUMENT TO GARIBALDI

This statue stands on the Janiculum hill south of the Vatican in Rome.

He did not intend to let the conquest appear as the work of Garibaldi; for in that case he might have lost control of the movement, and the republican element, numerous among the followers of Garibaldi, might have proclaimed an Italian republic.

As early as August 31, Cavour had written to one of his agents, "An insurrection will break out in the Papal States from the 8th to the 12th of September. Whether it is suppressed or not, we shall intervene." The "insurrection" promptly broke out, but was easily suppressed by the papal troops. It consisted mostly of an invasion by Garibaldian bands. Cavour then curtly summoned the papal government to disarm its troops,

the existence of which was "a constant menace to Italian tranquillity." This "menace" consisted of a few thousand volunteers for the defense of the rights of the Holy See. Among them were the noblest names of France, Belgium, Austria, Ireland, and Canada.

Without waiting for the answer of Pius IX, Victor Emmanuel marched into the Papal States at the head of a Sardinian army.



VICTOR EMMANUEL II

The papal army offered heroic resistance, but was simply crushed by overwhelming numbers. Leaving Rome aside, the Sardinian army marched south to take up the war in Naples and check the mad march of Garibaldi. The latter had done his work; his services were no longer needed, and the king disbanded his followers. Rome and the surrounding territory were left to the pope; the rest of the Papal States, together with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was allowed to vote on the ques-

tion of annexation to Sardinia. Cavour easily obtained an imposing majority in favor of annexation. The third step of the expansion of Sardinia into Italy was completed.

366. The Kingdom of Italy. — Sardinia now comprised the entire peninsula except Rome and Venetia, and it reached from the Alps to Sicily. The last annexations raised the population from eleven to twenty-two million. The next year, in February, 1861, the first Italian Parliament met at Turin and voted to Victor Emmanuel the title *King of Italy*.

Cavour's statesmanship had so far been triumphant. His next move was to try to obtain Rome as the capital of the

new kingdom. He first tried negotiations with the pope, but Pius IX steadfastly refused to give up his remaining territory. An armed invasion would have brought Cavour in conflict with Napoleon III, who still maintained a French garrison (§ 358) in the city of the popes. He therefore attempted to induce Napoleon to withdraw it voluntarily. The French emperor would have liked to please Cavour, but Catholic opinion in France was strongly opposed to the measure, and the garrison remained a little longer. Meanwhile the parliament at Turin and the mob loudly clamored for Rome as the capital, and Cavour himself in a speech declared the possession of Rome an "absolute necessity for Italy." Soon after this speech he died (June 6, 1861), leaving to his successors the completion of his work.

The acquisition of the remaining provinces, Venetia and Rome (1866 and 1870), was intertwined with the making of modern Germany, to which we shall now turn.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE MAKING OF GERMANY

THE EXPULSION OF AUSTRIA FROM THE CONFEDERATION

367. William I of Prussia. — In Germany the period from 1851 to 1861 showed no progress toward a closer union. The old Confederation, which satisfied nobody except Austrian statesmen, had been reëstablished. Two things were now clear to all: (1) If German unity was to be realized it had to be achieved under the leadership of Prussia, and (2) it could be achieved only by a war, as Austria would never willingly give up her predominant position in the Confederation nor permit the change of the Confederation into a real unified state. Under Frederick William IV, however, Prussia was not ready for action. Her military forces were weak, and the country was torn by the strife between the reactionary and liberal parties. A great change was brought on when, in 1861, Frederick William was followed by his brother, William I. The preceding ten years had seen the making of Italy, the next ten years were to see the making of Germany.

The prince who had been banished for a time to satisfy the liberals (§ 352) was none other than *William I*, destined to become the most idolized of German kings. He always entertained a very high idea of royal rights and, for this reason, had bitterly resented the weakness of his older brother in the face of the Berlin March riots. Still more, he tingled with indignation at Prussia's humiliation at Olmütz (§ 354), and was determined that Prussia should never again be thus thwarted in her designs. With the rest of Germany he hoped for national unification, but he believed that unity could be achieved only after expelling

Austria from Germany. To expel Austria would be the work of the Prussian army.

368. The Prussian army differed from all others in Europe. Elsewhere the armies were of the old kind — standing bodies of mercenaries and professional soldiers, reënforced at need by levies from the population. The Napoleonic wars had resulted in a different system for Prussia (§ 275). In 1807, after the disaster at Jena, Napoleon forced Prussia to reduce her army to forty-two thousand men. The Prussian government, however, had evaded Napoleon's purpose to keep her weak by passing fresh bodies of recruits through the regiments at short intervals. Each soldier was given two years' service, and part of each regiment was dismissed each year, its place being filled with new levies.

Thus the Prussian army, according to Napoleon's own permission, was so cleverly managed as never to number more than 42,000 men at any one time. Those who passed out were held as reserves. After the Napoleonic wars were over Prussia kept up this system. The plan was to make every man who was physically fit a trained soldier, but it had not been fully carried out. Since 1815 population had doubled, but the army had been left on the basis of that period. No arrangements had been made for organizing new regiments; and so of the 150,000 youths who annually came of age for military service only 40,000 were drafted, while, in case of war, older and married men of the reserve had to take the field.

The first efforts of King William to strengthen the army were directed to increasing the number of regiments so as to accommodate 60,000 new recruits each year instead of only 40,000. This change called for an additional outlay of eight million dollars annually. The Prussian parliament, anxious to use the power but lately acquired, at first granted the money only under certain conditions, and later refused it altogether. But William was determined not to give in; he would rather abdicate. At this turn of affairs, his advisers counseled him to try a new min-

ister. He finally yielded to their advice, and, in October, 1862, he summoned the man who was ready to carry out the royal will, parliament or no.

369. The Rise of Bismarck. — This man was Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen (1815-1898). In him a minister took office who was destined not only to uphold the army bill, but to unify Germany and carry his country to the front rank of European



BISMARCK

states. Hitherto he had not figured very prominently in public life. He was known to be a country nobleman, a "Junker," of very conservative views. In the revolution of 1848 he had stanchly defended the royal prerogatives, to the delight of Frederick William, who sent him as Prussian delegate to the Frankfurt Diet. There he realized the whole ridiculous imbecility of the Germanic Confederation, and also the unbending attitude of Austria in the question of German unity.

Bismarck became convinced that the only state strong enough to unite the German states into an empire was his own Prussia. Needless to say, he was now heart and soul in favor of the new army bill which would strengthen Prussia for the coming struggle. The parliament still refused the money for the enlarged army, so he ruled without parliament and for four years collected taxes unconstitutionally.

Again and again the parliament demanded Bismarck's dismissal, and many violent scenes took place. The liberals threatened to hang him — as very probably they would have done had power fallen to them by another revolution. Bis-

marck in turn railed at the liberals contemptuously as "mere pedants," and told them bluntly that the making of Germany was to be "a matter not of speechifying and parliamentary majorities, but of blood and iron." He grimly went on bullying or dissolving parliament, and the king steadfastly stood by him.

Under the energetic administration of the new minister, the army was wholly remodeled. First of all large armies, it was supplied with the new invention of breech-loading, repeating rifles, instead of the old-fashioned muzzle-loaders. *Von Moltke*, the Prussian "chief of staff," made it the most perfectly organized military body in Europe.

Bismarck was now ready to carry out his schemes. He needed only an opportunity, and it soon came. By a series of master-strokes of daring and unscrupulous diplomacy he involved Prussia in three successful wars in the next seven years, the *Danish War* (1864), the *Six Weeks' War with Austria* (1866), and the *Franco-Prussian War* (1870-1871).

370. The Danish War. — The king of Denmark was also Duke of *Schleswig-Holstein*, two provinces at the base of the Danish peninsula. Their population, with the exception of the northern half of Schleswig, was entirely German. Holstein was, besides, a member of the Germanic Confederation. In 1847 the two provinces had revolted against their Danish sovereign, expecting help from Germany. Public opinion demanded energetic action, but the Frankfurt Diet was too weak and vacillating to do anything.

In 1863 a new Danish king adopted a constitution for his territories which made no distinction between Denmark proper and Schleswig, but simply treated it as Danish territory. This was a violation of a promise previously given, and gave Bismarck a chance to interfere. He persuaded his sovereign to conclude an alliance with Austria against Denmark. The two demanded the repeal of the new Danish constitution. Denmark refused and war followed. The little state was, of course, easily

defeated and had to renounce all claims to Schleswig-Holstein in favor of Austria and Prussia jointly.

371. Preparations for War with Austria. — Bismarck had little trouble in finding a pretext for war with Austria, because quarrels at once arose over the administration of the ceded provinces. Austria wished to hand them over to a German prince and make them full-fledged members of the Confederation, while Bismarck's demands practically amounted to an annexation of both to Prussia. A treaty concluded at Gastein, vesting the administration of Holstein in Austria and that of Schleswig in Prussia, did not mend matters. When Austria encouraged Holstein to elect a native prince, Bismarck objected vigorously. To increase the chances for war, he now came forward with a proposal to reorganize the Confederation in such a way as to destroy the preponderance of Austria. The latter would not listen to the plan, and both prepared for war.

With consummate skill Bismarck had secured the neutrality of Napoleon III. Then he negotiated a secret treaty with Italy. That country longed for the acquisition of *Venetia*, which it had failed to get in 1859 (§ 363). Bismarck now promised to the Italians that Austrian province if they would declare war as soon as Prussia had taken the initiative.

372. War with Austria. — The excitement over the Schleswig-Holstein question daily became more intense. Austria convoked the Diet at Frankfurt to settle the matter. Prussia declared this a breach of the treaty of Gastein and sent her troops into Holstein. Thereupon the Diet mobilized the armies of the Confederation. Prussia seceded, and the war began. All of the southern states ranged themselves on the side of Austria, as did also three of the northern states, Saxony, Hannover, and Hesse.

However, the superior equipment and leadership of the Prussian army justified the confidence of Bismarck and Moltke. In three days the Prussians overran the three northern allies of Austria. From Saxony they marched into Bohemia, where, on July 3, 1866, they met the main army of Austria at *Sadowa*.

In the contest, one of the bloodiest of the century, the Austrians suffered a terrible defeat, and the way to Vienna was open to the enemy.

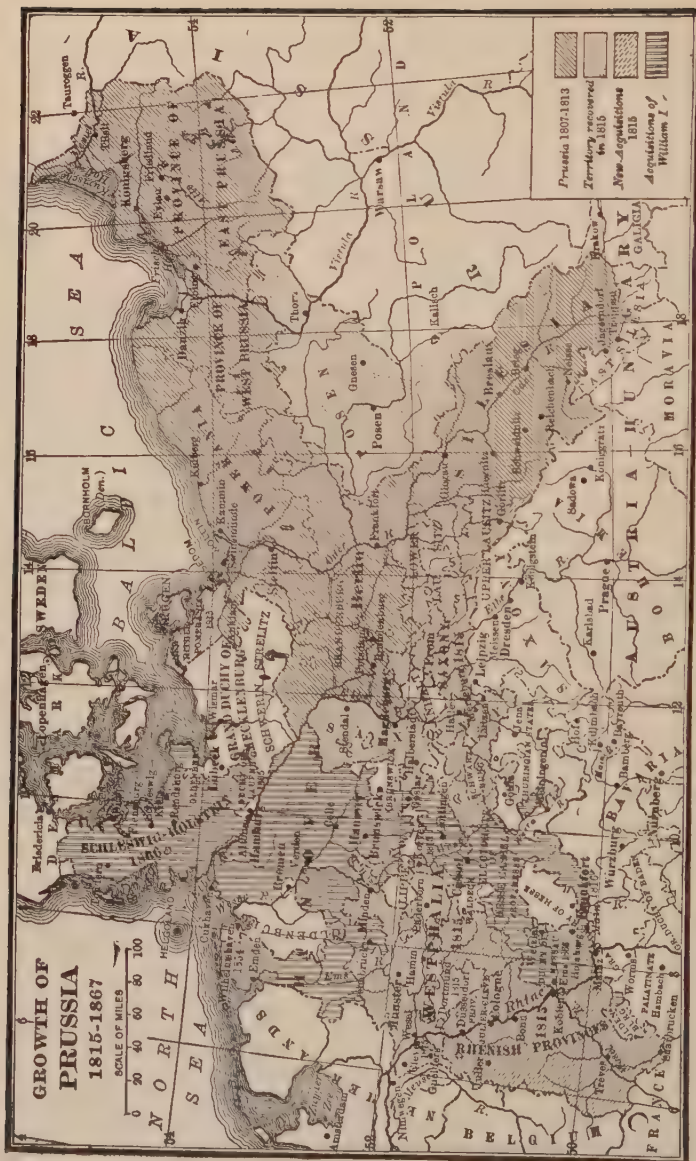
The Italians meanwhile had kept their part of the engagement and opened hostilities, but only to meet defeat on the old battlefield of *Custoza*. The Italian fleet, too, though superbly equipped, was badly crippled by the wooden ships of the Austrians off the coast of Dalmatia.

The peace, nevertheless, gave *Venetia to Italy*. The other, more important, provisions come under two heads.

a. Prussia annexed *Hesse-Cassel*, *Nassau*, *Hannover*, and the city of *Frankfurt*, seat of the former Diet. These acquisitions consolidated her scattered lands, since they filled the gap between her old territory and her possessions on the Rhine. She also kept *Schleswig-Holstein* with the magnificent harbor of Kiel. Her territory was enlarged by half, and her population rose from twenty to nearly thirty millions.¹ No other German state approached this — now that Austria was no longer to be a German state.

b. Austria did not lose any territory except Venetia, but she definitely withdrew from German affairs: and the Confederation of 1815 was replaced by the *North German Federation*. This union was placed under Prussian presidency and comprised all states north of the Main river. It was not a loose league like the old Confederation, but a true federal state, with essentially the same constitution as the later German Empire. Bismarck would have liked to add the southern states, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt, to the North German Federation, but Napoleon III, jealous of Prussia's growing power,

¹ Frederick the Great at his accession ruled over two and a half million subjects. This number was doubled during his reign, with some new territory. By 1815 it had doubled again, to ten millions. In the next half century (1815-1866) the population nearly doubled, without addition of territory. The Six Weeks' War had raised it to thirty millions. Trace the growth of Prussia on the map (page 356).



objected, and Bismarck dropped the scheme, though only for the time. He feared an alliance between France and the defeated Austria.

The Prussian parliament after Sadowa turned from bitter opposition to hearty support of Bismarck. As soon as his purpose to expel Austria from Germany became known, opposition against him practically ceased. The parliament passed enthusiastically the act of indemnity he requested for his previous unconstitutional actions, and gave him a hearty support that made it easier for him to complete his task.

THE FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

373. Bismarck and Napoleon III. — After the Danish War, Napoleon had expected to get at least Luxemburg, with Prussia's consent, in return for giving her a free hand. He received nothing. When the Six Weeks' War began he thought that his chance had surely come. Bismarck, in a personal interview with Napoleon, made sure of the latter's neutrality and "permitted" the French emperor to deceive himself as to a future reward. Napoleon's real plan, however, was to remain neutral at first, and to step in at the critical moment to save the vanquished, which, he felt sure, would be Prussia. In gratitude for his protection, Prussia would sanction his annexing German territory on the Rhine.

But the war had quickly ended, and in a way contrary to Napoleon's hopes, before his armies were ready. The chance was gone, but Napoleon weakly tried negotiations. He felt that popular clamor demanded some great achievement to satisfy French ambition and to maintain himself on the throne. The emperor's popularity had been on the wane ever since his mad Mexican expedition had failed (§ 346). After the battle of Sadowa a strong Republican party declared it a French as well as an Austrian defeat, inasmuch as it was a step toward German unity, which would diminish French prestige and put an end to the time-honored interference of France in German affairs.

Upon Napoleon fell the blame for having allowed matters to come to such a pass.

Internal troubles were also worrying the emperor. The revolutionary and socialistic spirit of 1848 was still fermenting in the masses. A concession of Napoleon in the shape of a liberal constitution earned him little gratitude. Even in the army 50,000 votes were cast against it. No wonder, then, that Napoleon looked for extension of the frontiers to divert attention from domestic affairs.

In his negotiations with Bismarck, he suggested that France be permitted to annex parts of Bavaria (one of Prussia's antagonists in the Six Weeks' War), to offset Prussian annexations; in return France would give Prussia a free hand in reorganizing Germany. Bismarck was already planning a war with France, the only means, in his eyes, to bring the South German states into the North German Federation. This proposal of annexations of Bavarian territory delivered Napoleon into Bismarck's hands. He revealed it privately to the South German states, and it terrified them into a secret alliance with Prussia. Now a successful war with France would fuse North and South Germany into one state.

374. The Ems Dispatch. — War, therefore, was clearly Bismarck's policy, and he used every means at his disposal to hasten it. Yet his success was made possible only by the folly and envy of the French statesmen. The immediate occasion for war grew out of a proposal of the Spaniards to place upon their throne a German prince, a distant relative of King William of Prussia. The plan at first was kept secret, though Bismarck was fully aware of it and, perhaps, even originated it. When it became public Napoleon called upon King William to prevent it, urging that it would be dangerous to the peace of Europe. The French press, in fact, loudly protested against having a German prince to the south as well as to the east of the French frontier. The prince in question then declined the proffered crown, and everything seemed peacefully settled.

Napoleon's advisers, however, were bent upon humiliating Prussia. So the French ambassador was instructed to see King William at the little watering place of Ems and to insist that the latter should give a definite pledge that the Spanish offer, if renewed at any time in the future, would not be accepted. William very properly declined to do this. His refusal, though firm, was so courteous that there was no cause for offense. An account of the interview was telegraphed to Bismarck, who skillfully condensed it in such a way as to make it appear that king and ambassador had insulted each other.¹ This "edited" account he sent to the press. As Bismarck hoped, the French government became enraged and declared war (July 19, 1870). Never did a state rush more blindly to its fate.

375. The War with France (1870-1871). — Thiers and others opposed the war on the ground that France was not sufficiently prepared, but the French minister of war assured them, "We are thrice ready, down to the last soldier's gaiter button." In the streets of Paris the people shouted light-heartedly, "On to Berlin." However, the first attempts to move troops showed that the government was honeycombed with corruption and inefficiency. Regiments lacked men. Arsenals were empty. Transportation was not ready where it was needed, and supplies of all kinds were of the poorest quality. The French soldiers fought with their accustomed bravery, but they were outnumbered and outgeneraled at every point.

On the other hand, the Prussian army showed the same thorough preparation and energy which had brought so swift a victory in 1866. In twelve days after the declaration of war the Germans had put one and a quarter million troops into the field and had massed most of them on the Rhine. Napoleon planned to drive a wedge between the German North and South. After the first victory, he calculated, the South would break away from the alliance with Prussia.

¹ See the original dispatch and Bismarck's version of it in Schevill, *The Making of Modern Germany*.

That first victory never came. Instead, the French were defeated at *Wörth* and forced to fall back to the frontier. After a series of battles ending in the desperate struggle of *Gravelotte* one French army, numbering 170,000 men, took refuge in the strong fortress of *Metz*. Leaving a force to invest Metz, the main German army turned westward after the other half of the French forces under Marshal MacMahon, and surrounded them at *Sedan* near the Belgian boundary. There the decisive battle was fought, September 1, that resulted in the surrender of the whole French army with Napoleon in person.

When the news of the disaster of Sedan reached Paris, a group of Republicans declared Napoleon deposed and set up a provisional government, the leading spirit of which was the Republican *Gambetta*. This government decided to continue the war. Meanwhile the Germans pressed on to the siege of Paris, and soon completely cut off the capital from the provinces. Paris offered the most heroic resistance, and the exhausted provinces raised army after army to rescue the capital from the iron grasp of the Germans. For a time success seemed possible, but in the end it became apparent that the German ring could not be broken. The great population of Paris began to suffer the horrors of famine; and on January 28, 1871, the city surrendered.

376. The Proclamation of the German Empire. — Before the siege of Paris had ended, Bismarck completed the unification of Germany. The South German people were wild with enthusiasm over the victories over the French, and while this feeling was at its height, Bismarck brought them all into the North German Federation. He then arranged that the King of Bavaria in the name of other leading German rulers should ask the King of Prussia to take the title of *German Emperor*. On January 18, while the siege of Paris was still going on, William of Prussia solemnly assumed that title in the palace of Louis XIV at Versailles. The act was soon ratified by a parliament representing all Germany.

377. The Terms of Peace. — The provisional government set up after Sedan represented only Paris and had, therefore, no authority to make peace. After the fall of the capital an armistice was arranged, to permit the election of a National Assembly. It met toward the close of February and elected Thiers "head of the Executive Power."



PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

This proclamation was made in the palace of Versailles, January 18, 1871. In the same palace, on June 28, 1919, Germany had to sign the humiliating treaty with the Allies. (See § 563.)

The first task of the new head was to make peace with Bismarck. The terms were hard. A war indemnity of one billion dollars was exacted by the Germans. The province of Alsace and part of Lorraine, including the strong fortresses of Strasbourg and Metz, were annexed to the new German Empire, although the vast majority of the population of these provinces were passionately attached to France. In fact, hundreds of thousands preferred to leave their homes rather than submit to German rule. Bismarck himself, it is said, had misgivings, but the military leaders insisted that the annexation was necessary in order to give the empire a strong western boundary.

378. Summary of the Making of Germany. — Thus Germany was made, not by the people's representatives assembled in the Frankfurt Parliament nor by the agitation of enthusiasts, but by the daring and unscrupulous diplomacy of Bismarck, details of which he himself afterward shamelessly revealed. Such methods can be favored only by those who, like Bismarck, believe that statesmen in their political acts need not be restrained by the moral law. The dazzling success of these methods, moreover, was a strong temptation to his successors to follow similar ones and thus sow the seeds of distrust and future wars. Such methods, sooner or later, are bound to bring disaster upon the country that uses them.

Yet we must not belittle the value of earlier efforts. The Frankfurt Parliament and the flood of literature it produced awakened in all minds a strong desire for union to put an end to the disgraceful centuries of discord and foreign interference. Hence, when the new empire was proclaimed most of the best men of the nation gave their hearty approval to the accomplished fact.

The subsequent story of France and Germany will be told in another chapter.

PART VIII: GREAT BRITAIN AFTER 1815

CHAPTER XXXIII

POLITICAL REFORM IN ENGLAND

THE FIRST REFORM BILL

379. The English Government in 1815. — In the eighteenth century, through her participation in the War of the Spanish Succession (§ 149), in the Seven Years' War (§ 163), and in the Napoleonic wars, England had acquired a world empire. During the same century she inaugurated that silent yet mighty change in human life, the Industrial Revolution. Yet in political progress, that period is singularly uninteresting; except for the accidental progress in the matter of ministerial government (§ 131), England actually went backward in freedom.

Parliament had never been a very democratic body, and after 1688 it shriveled up into the selfish organ of a small class of landlords. This came about largely by accident.

The old English kings had assumed the power to summon representatives from whatever borough they pleased, though custom gave a borough, once represented, a right to send a member ever afterward. At first this power to "summon" boroughs was used wisely to recognize towns as they grew up, but the Tudors, in order to manage parliaments better, summoned representatives from insignificant hamlets. These were "pocket boroughs," — owned or controlled by some favorite lord of the court.

Natural causes made this bad condition worse. When in the eighteenth century manufactures developed in the north and west where the coal mines were, the population shifted to those parts. Large cities grew up where formerly pastures and heath

covered the land. These new towns could not have representatives in parliament, for after the Restoration of 1660 the king no longer enjoyed the right to create boroughs, just

when that power might have been used to public advantage.

On the other hand, in the south and east, old boroughs had dwindled down to fifty or fewer inhabitants, but still continued to be represented in London. In a few cases the borough had actually disappeared or had been submerged by the encroachments of the sea. Still a descendant of the ancient owner had the right to elect himself to parliament. Thus the elder Pitt, who guided England's policy during the Seven Years' War, entered the Commons as a member from Old Sarum, when not a vestige of the old



WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Before the Reformation this was the church of a large Benedictine abbey. Now it is the coronation church of the English kings and the burial place of famous Englishmen.

town remained, simply because his grandfather had bought the soil where the town once stood. In many small places with only a few voters there was no real election. A landlord on whom the people depended as tenants would propose the candidate and force his election.

Others were known as "rotten boroughs." That is, the few voters sold the seat in parliament as a regular part of their private revenue. Thus, in 1776, the little town of Sudbury advertised in the public press that its parliamentary seat was for sale to the highest bidder. Moreover, as the secret ballot did not exist, voting being oral and public, and as the polls were held open for two weeks, there was every chance to sell and buy votes.

380. First Attempts at Reform, 1815-1832. — Progressive leaders had long seen that parliament did not represent the nation, and urged reform. But after 1688 the energies of the English went to the long French wars and left little interest for domestic affairs. Moreover, during the long period from 1760 to 1820 the king was determined to prevent reform. *George III* (1760-1820) felt that his indolent predecessors had allowed the kingly power to slip from their hands, and he resolved to get it back. This, of course, was much easier with a parliament made up largely of members from pocket boroughs which he had under his thumb than with a parliament that really represented the people of the nation. Besides, when the Americans raised the cry, "No taxation without representation," it would have been rather inconsistent to grant representation at home while refusing it to the colonies. The French Revolution threw England into the opposing camp, and for a while democratic ideas became very unpopular. During nearly all this time the Tories were in power, who traditionally opposed all movements in favor of popular government. When in 1820 *George IV* followed his father on the throne, he assumed the same attitude towards political reform.

Some small gains, however, were made. In 1825 the parliament recognized the right of workingmen to unite in labor unions — which before had always been treated as conspiracies. In 1828 the Dissenters, and the next year the Catholics, secured greater political rights (§ 405). A beginning was made, too, in the reform of the atrocious laws regarding capital punishment.

The English penal code of the eighteenth century has been fitly called a "sanguinary chaos." Whenever in the course of centuries a crime had become especially troublesome, some parliament had fixed the death penalty for it, and no later parliament ever revised the code, so that, by 1800, the number of "capital crimes" had risen to over two hundred, ranging all the way from stealing a woman's handkerchief to arson and murder. At last,

in 1823, after long agitation by the reformer Romilly, parliament struck the death penalty from one hundred offenses.

381. The Reform Bill of 1832. — George IV was succeeded in 1830 by his brother *William IV*. He had the reputation of being more favorably disposed toward reform than his predecessor. At the same time, too, the French “July Revolution” (§ 307), with its far-reaching effects on the continent, added strength to the reform party in England.

At this period the accession of a new sovereign made necessary a new general election for parliament. The Whigs returned stronger than they had been in the preceding parliament, and they promptly introduced a motion to reform the representation. The Duke of Wellington, the hero of Waterloo, was then prime minister and a Tory. He scorned the proposal, declaring that he was fully convinced that the country possessed a legislature which answered all good purposes of legislation, and “that to a greater degree than any legislature ever had answered in any country whatsoever.” This speech cost him his popularity, both in and out of parliament. He had to resign, and the Whigs came into power with Earl Grey as prime minister. In the House of Commons Lord John Russell was the chief representative of the ministry. He drew up the bill of reform. It aimed (1) to distribute the representation somewhat more fairly, (2) to extend the franchise to a somewhat larger class of voters. The manner of voting was not to be changed, as Earl Grey objected to the secret ballot.

Representation was to be taken away from fifty-six “rotten” or “pocket” boroughs, and thirty more places, each of less than 4000 inhabitants, were to give up one seat. The eighty-six seats gained in this way were to be given to new boroughs hitherto not represented. The right of voting was extended to all householders in the towns who owned or rented houses worth \$50 a year, and to the whole “farmer” class in the country (§ 325). Farm laborers and the artisan class in towns (who lived in tenements or as lodgers) were still left out.

382. The Reform Bill was passed over the determined opposition of the Lords. To the Tories this mild measure seemed to threaten the very foundations of society. Fierce debates took up month after month. In March, 1831, the "second reading" of the bill was carried by a majority of one vote. It was plain that the Whigs were not strong enough to save the bill from undesirable amendments. (A bill has to pass three "readings," and amendments are usually considered after the second.) The ministry decided to dissolve parliament and to "appeal to the country" for better support.

The risky step of dissolving parliament proved that the ministry meant to stand or fall on the bill. People everywhere showed their joy over the attitude of the ministers, and the elections returned a large majority of the Commons in favor of the bill. Russell introduced it again, and this time it passed the Commons by a majority of 109. Then it was sent up to the Lords, who calmly voted it down (September, 1831).

Thus one session of the new parliament was wasted. The excitement and indignation at the Lords rose to such a pitch that England seemed on the verge of revolution. In December the Commons took up the bill again and gave it a still greater majority. The Lords did not venture to reject it altogether, but they tacked on so many amendments as practically to amount to a rejection.

The king has always the power to make new peers at will. Earl Grey now demanded from the king that he create enough new peers to save the bill. William IV refused, and Earl Grey resigned. For eleven days England had no government. The Tories were unable to get a majority, so the king had to recall the Whigs. Earl Grey again insisted that the king compel the Lords to give in. Finally William reluctantly signed a note on which Grey had written "The king grants permission to Earl Grey . . . to create such a number of new peers as will insure the passage of the Reform Bill." This ended the struggle. It was not necessary actually to create new peers.

The Tory Lords withdrew from the session, and the bill passed, June 4, 1832.

383. House of Commons Now the Real Ruling Power. — The long contest had incidentally settled two important points: It showed (1) that the Commons could control the Lords, and

(2) that the ministers are not the king's ministers, except in name, but that they are really the organ of the House of Commons. The royal power has thereby been much reduced. Since the king can act only through his ministers and since they are able to impose their will upon him, they, and not the king, really rule Great Britain. This will be better understood when we study the British Constitution (§ 391).



QUEEN VICTORIA

This painting was made near the beginning of her long reign.

REFORMS IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

384. Character of Queen Victoria. — A new era began with the first Reform Bill which we call the *Victorian Age*. In 1837 William IV was succeeded by his niece *Victoria*, then a girl of eighteen, whose reign filled

the next sixty-four years, the longest reign in English history. Victoria came to the throne a modest, high-minded girl. She was not brilliant; but she grew into a worthy, sensible, good woman, deeply loved by her people and admired by all the world. In 1840 she married Albert, second son of one of the lesser German princes, and their happy and pure family life (blessed with nine

children) was an example rather new to European courts for generations.¹

The British Constitution was in many places still undeveloped, and the difficult problems arising from the change in parliament and cabinet might have led to dangerous complications. But the queen never lost sight of the principles of liberty on which her sovereignty rested, and exerted her influence on the side of moderation and prudent concession.

The age of Victoria saw the most brilliant literary achievement since the Elizabethan Age. True, Burns and Scott, Wordsworth and Macaulay, had initiated this golden age before her reign. Yet the great works of Browning, Tennyson, Dickens and Thackeray, Carlyle and Ruskin, are chiefly associated with the Victorian Age.



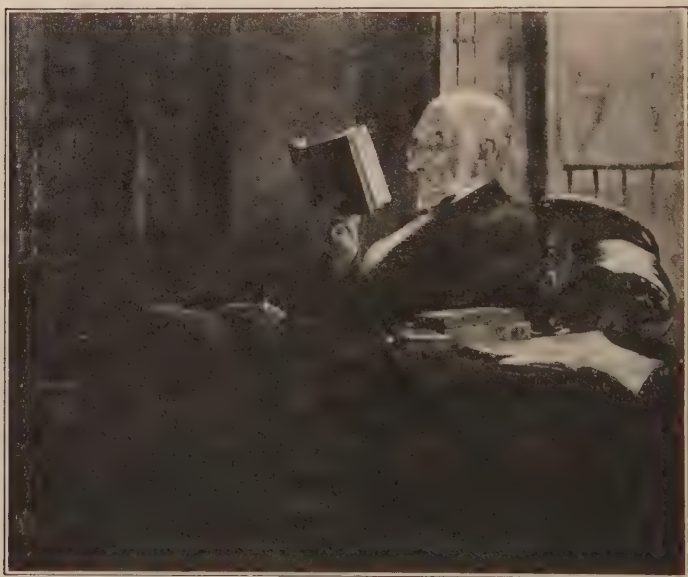
BENJAMIN DISRAELI

385. The Political Leaders. — The first Reform Bill gave the vote to 650,000 people, or to one out of six grown men. It marked the end of the Old Régime in England. Political power passed from the narrow landlord class to a more broad-minded middle-class aristocracy whose wealth was founded on the Industrial Revolution. For more than forty years (1790–1830) parliament had openly disregarded public opinion. From this time on it has been nearly always very responsive to that force, and reform crowded upon reform.

During the next forty-two years (1832–1874) the Tories

¹ The crown of Hannover since George I (1714) had been joined in personal union to that of Great Britain. But since the law of Hannover excluded women from the throne, Hannover passed to Victoria's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, her nearest heir. The separation was peaceful and satisfactory to both parties.

(Conservatives ¹) were in power less than one sixth of the time. Even when they came into power, they, too, adopted a more liberal policy toward the lower classes and thus were longer in office. The man who did much to bring about that change was Disraeli, the real leader of the Conservative party during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. *Disraeli* (later *Lord*



WILLIAM GLADSTONE

Beaconsfield) was by birth a Jew, though later he outwardly attached himself to the Anglican Church. He was an author and a brilliant orator. As a politician he had no very fixed principles, but his shrewd mind told him that the influence and power of the Conservatives depended upon their conceding reforms.

Disraeli's great adversary, *William Ewart Gladstone*, was an even more important figure. Gladstone, after entering parlia-

¹ Soon after the great Reform Bill the name *Conservative* began to replace *Tory*, and *Liberal* replaced *Whig*.

ment in 1833, soon proved himself a powerful orator and a master of debate. He was also an authority on financial questions. Although he began his career as an extreme Tory, by degrees he grew more liberal and thirty years later succeeded Lord Russell as the acknowledged leader of the Liberal party. For thirty years thereafter he held that place — four times as prime minister ¹ — and at the close of his career many considered him an extreme radical. Some of his early friends accused him of being inconsistent, but the world at large accepted his simple explanation, "I was brought up to distrust and dislike liberty. I have learned to believe in it. That is the key to all my changes." For the last twenty years of his life he was widely revered as England's "Grand Old Man."

After this general survey we turn to some details of England's progress in the Victorian Age.

386. Agitation for Further Reform. — The Conservatives at once accepted the result of 1832, as that party in England always does when a new reform has been forced upon it. But they emphatically declared against further concessions to the poorer classes, and in this they were supported by many

¹ Reference Table of Administrations:

<i>Liberals</i>		<i>Conserv- atives</i>	<i>Liberals</i>		<i>Conserv- atives</i>
1830-34	. Grey		1885-86		Salisbury
1834-35		Peel	1886	. . Gladstone	
1835-41	. Melbourne		1886-92		Salisbury
1841-46		Peel	1892-95	{ (1) Gladstone (2) Rosebery	
1846-52	. Russell		1895-1906	. . . { (1) Salisbury (2) Balfour	
1852		Derby	1906-16	{ Campbell-Bannerman Asquith	
1852-58	{ (1) Aberdeen (2) Palmerston		1916-1922	Lloyd George	
1858-59		Derby	1922-24	. . . { (1) Bonar Law (2) Baldwin	
1859-66	{ (1) Palmerston (2) Russell		1924-25	. MacDonald (Labor)	
1866-68		Derby	1925-29	. Stanley Baldwin	
1868-74	. Gladstone		1929-	. MacDonald (Labor)	
1874-80		Disraeli (Beaconsfield)			
1880-85	. Gladstone				

Liberals, and by none more heartily than by Lord John Russell. The middle class now shared political power with the aristocracy, and they had no mind to extend it to others.

Outside parliament and the ruling middle class, however, there was the large mass of workingmen who knew that the victory of 1832 had been won largely by their sympathy and their public demonstration, and who felt that they had been cheated out of the fruits of the victory. Although this class remained restless, they lacked leadership, and in ordinary times their claims secured little attention. There were, however, two marked periods of agitation — one just before 1848, and another before 1867. The first was futile, the second led to a new Reform Bill.

387. The Chartist Movement. — The earlier of the two agitations was the famous Chartist Movement. There had been a widespread demand even before 1832 for a more radical change than that proposed in Russell's Reform Bill. The extremists had fixed upon six points as their goal: (1) universal manhood suffrage, (2) equal electoral districts, (3) abolition of all property qualifications for membership in parliament, (4) payment of members, (5) the secret ballot, and (6) annual elections.

In 1837 the radicals renewed their activity, and the *Six Points* were embodied in a *Charter*. Excitement grew from year to year, and in the forties many Chartists looked forward to rebellion. Men armed and drilled, and the alarmed government took precautions. Upon the news of the continental revolutions of 1848, the Chartists adopted the following resolution: "All labor shall cease till the people's Charter becomes the law of the land." This was the first attempt at a national strike for political purposes, but the movement was poorly organized. After some riots and bloodshed it subsided, overawed by the military display of the middle-class government.

388. The Second Reform Bill of 1867. — The next agitation started from the sufferings of the unemployed when the American Civil War cut off the supply of cotton for the English factories. This time no one thought of force, because the agitators

could safely count on winning through the rivalry of the two political parties. The Conservatives were then in power, and fear of the Liberals induced them to pass the second Reform Bill in 1867. This measure gave the franchise to all householders (owners or renters) and to all lodgers who paid at least \$50 a year for their rooms. The bill benefited the artisan class, and raised the number of voters to over three millions. Nevertheless, because of the low rents in England, many unmarried men were still excluded from the suffrage.

389. The Third Reform Bill, 1884. — Much legislation for social reform (§ 400) was passed in the years after 1867, for which most of the credit belongs to Gladstone's ministry. Then a Conservative ministry, led by Disraeli and concerned chiefly with foreign matters, took office. Gladstone afterward came into power again, and the third Reform Bill was passed, enfranchising the unskilled laborer and the servant class. The whole of England, too, was divided into parliamentary districts more resembling our own congressional districts. This raised the electorate to over six million voters.

However, manhood suffrage remained limited by property qualifications until 1918. In that year parliament abolished practically all restrictions and, at the same time, extended the franchise to women. This act more than doubled the English electorate.

390. Reforms in Local Government. — The extension of the franchise by the three Reform Bills applied only to parliamentary elections. Local government remained aristocratic. In the country, practically all affairs of the parish and the county were managed by a Board of Justices of the Peace, taken from the local gentry and appointed for life by the crown. In the towns the government was usually vested in a mayor and a council who were virtually self-elected for life. Needless to say, this system permitted gross abuses. In 1835 a *Municipal Reform Bill* proposed that in certain specified towns the municipal council should be elected by all those who pay local taxes.

After long and stubborn resistance by the Lords it finally became law. From time to time new towns were added to the list until, in 1882, an act was passed which permitted any town to adopt this form of government.

In the country the change came later, chiefly because the rule of the gentry was honest. Between 1888 and 1894, however, election of officers by the taxpayers was introduced here, too. This infused new life and a spirit of enterprise into the rather obsolete and inefficient administration of the counties and parishes.

These reforms made English local government a model for democratic countries. The best citizens serve in the town councils; party politics have little or no influence on local administration. Efficient men of high professional standing provide English cities with a government which costs less and gives more than that of American cities. There the scandals which sometimes disgrace our city governments are unknown.

THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION

391. Character of the British Government. — We have just seen how the three reform bills of the nineteenth century gave the people a much greater share in political power. Yet the form and appearance of the monarchy have remained unchanged. In theory the king still makes laws, declares war, makes peace, and carries on the government. In practice, however, all legislative power is exercised by parliament, and all executive power rests in the hands of *Cabinet* ministers, who are responsible to the House of Commons but act in the king's name. To us practical Americans it seems odd that England should retain so much of the pomp and splendor of royalty after its power has nearly vanished. But Englishmen cling with reverence and affection to their king, and never dream of doing away with forms under which the nation has grown so mighty and prosperous. There are some, too, who think that the nation has gone a little too far in curtailing the power of the monarch. Should this view one

day prevail it would be easy to give real power to the form already existing.

Another feature that seems strange to an American is that the Constitution of Great Britain is not written in any document, like the Constitution of the United States or the constitutions of most continental and South American states. Its force rests solely on respect for tradition and custom, which is a very prominent quality of the British character. The constitution is the slow growth of centuries. It can be amended at any time by an ordinary act of parliament, and since it is legally not superior to parliament no act of parliament can be declared unconstitutional.

392. The Cabinet. — The center of the whole machinery of the government is the Cabinet. In reality it is a committee selected from the two Houses of Parliament, counting usually from sixteen to twenty members. The king nominally chooses the prime minister or head of the Cabinet, and the latter then selects his colleagues. But the king has really almost no choice because (1) the members of the Cabinet must be taken from the party that has won a majority in the House of Commons in the elections, and (2) its head and members must be recognized by that majority as its leaders. If there were any doubt as to which of several men was the leader, it would be settled by a conference. In 1902 Balfour was chosen by the Conservatives in such a conference.

Each member of the Cabinet is the head of some great department of government just as in our system — Treasury (Exchequer), Foreign Affairs, War, and so on. Their leading assistants in all these departments — some twenty men — together with the heads of the departments, form the *ministry*. The chiefs themselves constitute the *Cabinet*. In turn the heads of the six or seven most important departments themselves form a sort of inner Cabinet which does much of the work of determining policies and acts on great problems as they arise.

The Cabinet is really *the Government*, and is often referred to by that title. It is the real executive, as well as the guiding force in the legislature. In their secret meetings the members of the Cabinet decide upon general policies. In parliament they introduce bills and defend them. In the executive departments over which they severally preside they carry out these policies. Thus a unity and a consistency of action are given to



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, LONDON

This beautiful view is seen from the Thames River.

the government which are wanting in most other states. In fact the union of executive and legislative powers is the principal characteristic of the British government.

In the United States neither the President nor the members of his cabinet are allowed to have seats in Congress or to take part in debates, because they are not members of Congress as the British cabinet heads are of parliament. They must, therefore, use roundabout means to secure the passage of laws which they favor. In England the prime minister and his colleagues must be members of parliament, so they are naturally its leaders.

The ministers take the chief part in transacting business. Roughly, they combine the duties of our cabinet members and the heads of the big committees in both houses of Congress. For example, no vote of money can be proposed except in the House of Commons and by one of the ministers. In fact, the ministers are practically responsible for every bill that is passed. The ministry either introduces the bill, to begin with, or at least permits and adopts it. If it is not willing to do that, it either defeats the bill or is itself defeated. It cannot escape responsibility to the nation.

393. "Appeal to the Country." — Another vital difference between the American and British systems of government is that when the British ministry is defeated on a measure in the House of Commons it must either resign or *appeal to the country*. If it chooses the latter, the king officially dissolves parliament and orders a general election. If the voters return a majority to parliament favorable to the ministers, the latter remain in office and carry on their policies. If the opposition party secures a majority at the polls, the ministers must resign, and the leader of the victorious party is called by the king to form a Cabinet. The former ministers then become leaders of the opposition. Usually not more than three weeks intervene between the dissolution of one parliament and the coming into office of a new House.

Members of the House of Commons *do not have to be residents of the districts which they represent*. If, therefore, a prominent member of either party is defeated in his district, it is easy to find a seat for him from some other constituency. Thus great statesmen, like Gladstone, can spend the greater part of their lives in continuous service in the House of Commons, either as members of the Cabinet or as leaders of the opposition.

394. Democratic Basis of the Government. — It is now clear why the British government is sometimes called the most democratic government of all great modern states. As the parliament may be dissolved at any time for the purpose of ascertain-

ing the popular will on any important question, that body will be more responsive to public opinion than (for instance) the Congress of the United States. No deadlock between the executive and legislature is possible. True, bills have to get the consent of the Lords before they become law. The House of Lords consists of about six hundred members, all appointed for life, and therefore independent of the popular will. But continued resistance on the part of that body is little to be feared ever since, in 1832, the king threatened to "swamp" the Lords, that is, to appoint as many new members as are needed to form a majority in favor of a Cabinet measure. In 1911 the House of Lords was rendered still more "harmless" (§ 410) so that now practically all power is vested in the Commons, thus rendering the parliament more truly representative of the British people.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SOCIAL REFORMS IN ENGLAND

395. Reform by the Grey Ministry, 1832-1834. — We have been studying political reform, but this was a period of social reform as well. *Charles Dickens* wrote his moving stories of the abuses in the courts, the schools, the factories, the shops. *Carlyle* thundered against injustice in *Chartism* and in *Past and Present*; *Mrs. Browning* pleaded for the abused children in touching poems. Public men, like *Wilberforce*, *Romilly*, and *Shaftesbury*, urged reform in parliament. The study of the Industrial Revolution has taught us that there was, indeed, crying need for reform (§§ 323, 324).



CHARLES DICKENS

After the Reform Bill of 1832 the new parliament, elected on the basis of the enlarged franchise, had a large Liberal majority, and, during the next three years, passed a number of important social measures. It freed the Negro slaves in the West India colonies, paying the colonists a hundred millions for their loss. It took away from the Irish peasants the burden of supporting the Anglican clergy (§ 406). It abolished some more excesses of the absurd and bloody criminal code (§ 380).

And, finally, it commenced an era of factory legislation to free the downtrodden working classes of the English industrial centers. This last calls for a more extended notice.

396. Labor and Factory Legislation. — Unscrupulous and greedy employers had so ignored the welfare of body and soul of their employees that the state should have taken radical measures for relief long before. Something had, indeed, been done at an earlier date, but such relief as was given did not proceed from an enlightened understanding of the real conditions. Thus, by the *Workhouse Test* the indigent received support only if they entered a workhouse, which was looked upon as a degradation by the poor. Later this test was abolished, to make room for a still more unsatisfactory law which raised the wages of certain very poorly paid laborers by government subsidies. This only increased the number of idlers and humiliated the honest but poor people.

After 1832 saner views began to prevail. In the next year Lord Ashley secured the passage of a factory act, limiting the work of children (under thirteen years) to forty-eight hours a week, and that of "young people" (from thirteen to eighteen years) to sixty-nine hours a week. Some provision was made, too, for the education of children and for a few holidays; and the employment of children under nine (!) was strictly forbidden. About half of all the children employed (some 30,000) were freed by this law.

Most of the manufacturers fought the bill bitterly, but public opinion was so aroused by the revelation of the appalling conditions in the factories that the bill became law. Subsequent acts still further limited the labor of women and children. This legislation applied only to factories.

In 1840 a parliamentary commission made public the horrible conditions of women and children in the coal mines — stunted, crippled, misshapen wretches, living in brutal slavery. Children began to work underground at five or six years of age, and rarely saw daylight. The working hours were from twelve to fourteen

a day. In the wet underground passages, two to three feet high, women were compelled to crawl back and forth on hands and knees, hauling great carts of coal by chains fastened to their waists.

A law was passed which forbade underground labor by women and children. Later acts added still more to the protection of the working classes against exploitation by capitalists. It must be said, however, that England, in comparison with some continental states, has been rather slow to remedy the evils of the Industrial Revolution.

397. The "Oxford Movement." — During the same period of ferment when England awoke to the need of social reform, a remarkable movement began within the Anglican Church. With the advent of the Hanoverian kings there came over the Established Church a wave of indifferentism which killed all



CARDINAL NEWMAN

spirituality. The party in power used the Anglican bishoprics to reward political support. The bishops appointed by the government usually cared little for the spiritual welfare of the flock committed to their charge, while the lower clergy consisted largely of men who had chosen the clerical state on account of its social and financial attractions.

To remedy this state of things, a number of Anglican clergymen, mostly professors and scholars of the famous university of Oxford, banded together, to work for a spiritual revival of the Established Church. Their leader was *John Henry Newman* (1801-1890), a man equally distinguished for his literary and

scholarly attainments and for his high moral and religious aims. The adherents of this *Oxford Movement*, as it was called, held that the Anglican Church had become infected with Protestant doctrines and practices and should, therefore, be freed from them, so as to be more like the early Christian Church. The modern Roman Catholic Church, too, in their opinion, had gone astray and introduced teachings which were not the teachings of Christ.

Hence the only safe course for reformers, they believed, was to choose a "middle way" between Catholicism and Protestantism. In 1833 they began to issue a series of pamphlets or *tracts*, which set forth their views and aroused widespread attention. Almost all England took sides either for or against the "Tractarians," as the authors of these pamphlets were called. But gradually Newman and many of his followers became convinced, especially through a more thorough study of the past, that the Catholic Church of former ages was the same as it is to-day. And they had the courage of their conviction. In 1845 Newman (later cardinal) and his friends made their submission to the Catholic Church. His reception proved the signal for large numbers to follow. Gradually nine hundred Tractarians were converted to the true faith, and the stream of individual conversions steadily increased.

In 1850 Pope Pius IX reorganized the Catholic Church in England by establishing bishops and dioceses as they exist in Catholic countries. For a time there was a great amount of protest and denunciation against this "papal aggression," but the storm was soon allayed, and the Catholic Church pursued its work peacefully and with increasing success. During this same period of religious revival the odious penal laws were repealed one by one. But of this we shall speak later (§§ 403-406).

398. Repeal of the Corn Laws.—In the meantime the reform movement was extending to the tariff. The Conservative ministry of Peel (1841-1846) was marked by the abolition of the

“Corn Laws.” These laws had put an excessively high tariff on imported grain. The purpose was to encourage the raising of foodstuffs in England so as to make sure of a home supply. During the Napoleonic war this policy was, perhaps, justifiable. The profits, however, had gone mainly to the landlords, who exacted such high rents from their tenants as to annul the advantages which the high prices might otherwise have brought to the farmer. Besides, the increase in population made it impossible for England to produce enough foodstuffs anyway, and thus the landlords’ monopoly of breadstuffs became an intolerable burden to the starving multitude.

The *Anti-Corn-Law League* was organized in 1838 by Richard Cobden and John Bright, and carried on a campaign through the press and by means of great public meetings. Daniel O’Connell, the great Irish leader (§ 405), joined the movement and became one of its principal orators. Gradually the big manufacturers came to see that the Corn Laws taxed them, indirectly, since to enable the workingmen to live they had to pay higher wages, and thus their great influence was drawn to the side of reform.

Finally, in 1846, a great calamity added its weight to the same side of the scales. This was the *Irish Famine*. The famine was caused by the sudden failure of the potato crop, then almost the only article of food for the poor Irish peasants. Despite generous alms from all parts of the world, two million people died of starvation, and about a million more emigrated to America. The English government had already been considering a reform of the Corn Laws, and this terrible calamity in Ireland forced it to act. Peel decided to do away with the tariff and to let food in free. Despite some bitter opposition from his own party, the reform was adopted.

399. Free Trade. — Peel was now overthrown by his own party, but the Liberals took up the work and carried it further. They abolished one protective tariff after another, until, by 1852, England had become a “free trade country.”

This policy was never seriously questioned until 1903. For some years previous, some Conservatives had talked of a policy of "fair trade" or a system of retaliatory tariffs against countries whose tariffs shut out British manufactures. Finally, in 1903, *Joseph Chamberlain*, a member of the Conservative Cabinet, declared that the time had come for England to adopt a policy of that kind and at the same time secure closer trade relations with her colonies. In 1909 and 1910 the Conservative party made their campaign on this issue. But not until after the Great War did they partially succeed. Since 1921 the government has protected certain key industries by high duties.

400. Gladstone and Disraeli. — For some twenty years after the repeal of the Corn Laws England saw little legal reform, aside from the extension of free trade and of the factory legislation already mentioned.

Then, after the Reform Bill of 1867 (§ 388), further reforms were made under Gladstone's administration (1868-1874). In 1870 was established, alongside the old private and parochial schools, a new system of public schools, or, as the English call them, board schools, almost nonsectarian in character. The private schools were subsidized by the state, though later the burden was thrown upon the religious denominations to which they belonged. At the universities, religious tests were abolished. The recipients of degrees (unless they were candidates for the Anglican ministry) no longer had to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican creed. This opened Oxford and Cambridge to Catholic students. Gladstone's ministry, moreover, did away with the purchase of office in the army, introduced the secret ballot, and gave legal rights to labor unions. It also disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland (§ 407).

These many reforms of course aroused a great deal of hostility. When parliament was dissolved in 1874, the Conservatives under their brilliant leader Disraeli won by a large majority.

Gladstone's administration had been chiefly engaged in domestic reform. Its foreign policy was emphatically peaceful.

Disraeli characterized this as weakness which "compromised the honor of England." He threw himself into foreign affairs and tried to excite English national pride by aggressive utterances and conduct. Queen Victoria was declared *Empress of India* (1876); the Boers of the Transvaal were forced into a war so that England might seize their lands; and, in 1878, when Russia defeated Turkey (§ 508), and seemed on the point of excluding the Turk from Europe, Disraeli interfered. In the Congress of Berlin (§ 509) he saved enough of European Turkey to shut Russia from the Mediterranean.

Gladstone had carried on a strong campaign against the policy of supporting the Turks and of perpetuating their tyranny over Christian peoples. This appeal to the moral sense of the English people, together with setbacks of Disraeli's policy in India and South Africa, brought about the return of the Liberals to power (1880). Gladstone, again prime minister, passed the Third Reform Bill (§ 389) and other beneficial changes. He also had to face the Irish Question, the thorniest in English politics. The importance of the relations between England and Ireland deserves a special chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV

ENGLAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

401. Ireland in the Eighteenth Century. — Conditions in Ireland after the passing of the *Penal Laws* (§ 134) were wretched beyond description. As a result of the plantations and the Penal Laws regarding property, six sevenths of the land belonged to English landlords, most of whom lived in England and spent their income there. Those who remained in Ireland made up the ruling class of the country. The vast majority of the people was Catholic. A few of these, especially in the West, were country gentlemen; some more were tenant farmers; but the great bulk were a starving peasantry, working the land for English landlords and living in mud hovels — each with an acre or two of ground about it.

Both farmers and laborers were *tenants at will*. That is, they could be evicted at the landlord's word. Population was so crowded that there was a sharp competition to get farms and cottages, which enabled the landlord to make his own terms. If the tenant improved the buildings or drained the land, he usually found out at once that he had to pay more rent, so that he himself got no profit from his extra labor. This system of "rack rent" made the peasants thriftless and hopeless, and the fact that the English law was used only to oppress them aroused in their breasts hatred for it all. Hence we need not be surprised that at times the island became the scene of desperate insurrections.

Still more galling were the attempts to eradicate the Catholic faith in Ireland. No nation in Christendom is more devoutly attached to that faith. Though English tyranny could ruin

the land and reduce its people to abject poverty, it never for a moment succeeded in shaking the foundations of Irish faith and Irish devotion to the Holy See. Irish priests, though harassed and hunted down by English agents and paid informers, never ceased to minister to their stricken people. Hence the traditional reverence and love of the Irish for their priesthood.

The Irish had long ceased to hope for the return of the Stuarts, and they had accepted the House of Hanover, expecting relief from loyal submission to the existing sovereigns. Yet bigotry was so strong that under the first two Georges persecution, instead of abating, became rather more intense.

402. A New Policy in Ireland. — During the second half of the eighteenth century a more tolerant sentiment towards the Irish gradually gained the upper hand. Several causes contributed to this happy change. (1) After the last unsuccessful attempt of James II's grandson to regain the English crown, in 1745, the Irish stopped supporting the Stuarts. Hence the charge of disloyalty could not well be maintained. (2) England, during the Seven Years' War and the Napoleonic period, was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with France and her allies, and it was feared that a persecuted and enslaved Ireland might prove a real danger to England. If, for instance, a French force should land there, Irish Catholics might join it and set up an independent Irish government under French protection. Irish volunteers in French service had proved on many a continental battlefield (§ 162, note) that under capable leaders they were a dangerous foe. It would be wiser, it seemed, to enlist these redoubtable fighters in the British army and navy from which they were debarred by the Penal Laws. (3) Even the English landlords began to reconsider their attitude toward the Irish. Many of the latter, since they could not safely invest in land, turned their energies to trade and commerce with considerable success. English landlords who by riotous living had wasted their fortunes were anxious to sell their land, but the wealthy Irish would not buy it so long as the Penal Laws made

its possession insecure. Much as these landlords hated the Catholics, their money was as good to them as that of Protestants. (4) A great change had come over the ideas of people since the Penal Laws were passed. Bigotry had largely given way to religious indifference. The bitter feelings stirred up by the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth century were dying out. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution helped to spread new ideas of liberty and toleration. Gradually the ruling Protestant class of Ireland began to feel ashamed of the treatment they had meted out to their Catholic countrymen. Some among them became, in fact, the most ardent advocates of the oppressed Catholics, and none more than the illustrious orators *Edmund Burke* (1729–1797) and *Henry Grattan* (1746–1820).

403. The First Irish and English Relief Acts. — During the American Revolution the first relief came to Ireland. Under the leadership of Grattan the Irish parliament passed an act permitting the Catholics to purchase and transfer landed property. By the same act bishops and religious were allowed to live in Ireland (1778). Four years later Grattan secured greater independence to the Irish parliament, but Catholics were still excluded from it, nor could they take part in parliamentary elections up to 1792.

The year 1778 also brought some relief to English Catholics. But when an extension of these acts to Scotland was proposed, a violent storm of bigotry burst forth all over Scotland and England. In London the mob, instigated by Lord Gordon and his Protestant Association, delivered a large number of Catholic chapels and dwellings to the flames. For five days anarchy ruled the capital, until the troops restored order.

The outbreak of the French Revolution was followed by more generous relief, in both England and Ireland. Parliament legalized the public worship of the Catholic Church, and the establishment of Catholic schools. It also admitted Catholics to some minor offices. The French Revolution had forced

many French priests to seek refuge in England. Their exemplary conduct under many privations helped much to remove many prejudices.

404. The Irish Insurrection of 1798 and the "Union." — The *Irish parliament*, more independent since 1782, of course did not represent the Irish nation. Of its three hundred members two hundred came from "pocket boroughs," that is, they were appointed by rich landowners. The Catholics could not be elected members. To bring about a reform of the Irish parliament, Wolfe Tone, a Presbyterian from the North, founded the society of *United Irishmen*, embracing both Protestants and Catholics.

The English government, however, skillfully aroused the old religious bitterness and thus weakened the society. Moreover, a secret organization, the *Orange Lodges*, inflicted every kind of outrage upon the Catholics. The latter, especially those who were members of the United Irishmen, retaliated. Usually the magistrates took sides with the Orangemen, and an undisciplined soldiery, mostly recruited from the Orange lodges, was let loose under the pretense of restoring order. The horrible outrages at last goaded the Catholics into rebellion. They relied on help from France, but it came too late, and the rising was crushed with wanton cruelty.

It took 150,000 men and cost 30,000 lives to suppress the civil war, but it hastened the English prime minister's (the younger Pitt's) favorite plan, the abolition of the Irish parliament. Most of the Irish leaders were now dead or banished. By bribes and promises Pitt prevailed upon the Irish parliament to vote away its own existence. The *Act of Union* (1800) put an end to the Irish legislature, and gave Ireland instead the right to send representatives to the parliament in London.

405. Daniel O'Connell. — For a while the cause of Ireland made little progress. Dissensions broke out and hampered united action. But after 1820 Irishmen again had a leader who knew how to win the enthusiastic support of all classes. This

was *Daniel O'Connell* (1775–1847), a young Catholic lawyer. Gifted with marvelous eloquence, untiring energy, and boundless courage, he swayed Irish hearts and Irish votes so completely that he has been called “the uncrowned king of Ireland.” In 1823 he founded the *Catholic Association* which gradually spread into every town and village of the Green Isle. The Association enabled O'Connell to put his ideas before the whole nation rapidly and effectively.



DANIEL O'CONNELL

In 1828 the requirement of membership in the Anglican Church for officeholders and members of the British parliament (§ 123) was abolished. The Test Oath, however, which contained a declaration against the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist (§ 123), still remained in force and barred the Catholics from the parliament.

Taking advantage of his right of election, O'Connell came before the people of County Clare as candidate for the House of Commons. In spite of the government's efforts, he was elected by an overwhelming majority. During the campaign he openly declared that if elected he would present himself before parliament but would absolutely refuse to take the infamous oath against the Holy Eucharist. The excitement grew so intense that the government feared another civil war. To prevent it, Wellington and Peel decided to bring in an act abolishing all the civil and political restrictions on the Catholics. The act was passed a few days before O'Connell presented himself before the House of Commons. Thenceforth (1829) all public offices (a few excepted) and seats in the Lords and Commons were open to Catholics.

406. Beginning of the Home Rule Movement. — In 1830, O'Connell entered the English parliament at the head of an

Irish delegation. One of the first questions that engaged their attention was the Established Church in Ireland, a branch of the Anglican Church. It was still supported by the tithes exacted from the impoverished Irish peasantry, though the vast majority of them were Catholics and did not accept its services. Often the whole congregation consisted of the parson and his sexton. O'Connell was unable to bring about its abolition, but the tithes were transferred from the tenants to the landlords (1838).

Then O'Connell began his famous agitation for the repeal of the Union of 1800 (§ 404) and the reopening of a separate Irish parliament. Mass meetings were held all over Ireland, and the Irish leader's eloquence never rose to greater heights. But in 1843 the English government forbade these meetings. O'Connell exhorted his followers to submit. Irish liberty was to be gained by constitutional means, not by violence. Hotter heads, however, were disgusted at this moderation. Some withdrew from his leadership and founded the "Young Ireland" party, after the model of the continental revolutionary societies that played so prominent a part in the political upheaval of 1848 (§ 357). The terrible Irish famine (§ 398) helped to check the agitation. In 1847 the great Irish leader died, leaving his work unfinished. Next year, the "year of revolutions," the "Young Ireland" society tried insurrection, but the attempt was nipped in the bud.

407. Social Reform in Ireland. — The next twenty years saw no progress. In 1866 came another rising, the *Fenian Conspiracy*, organized to a great extent by Irish officers who had served in the American Civil War. It had no chance to succeed, but it showed the extent of Irish disaffection, and thus convinced many of the English Liberal party that something must be done for Ireland. Gladstone's reform ministry of 1868–1874 took up the task.

A new era now opened in Irish history. The Anglican Church in Ireland was "disestablished," that is, thrown upon its own resources, in 1869.

This act was followed, in 1870, by the first of a long series of important reforms of the *land laws*. Two things were attempted: (1) In case of eviction, it was ordered that the landlord must pay for any improvements the tenant had made; and (2) the government arranged to lend money on long terms and at low interest to the tenants, so that they might buy their little patches of land. In 1881 and 1885 Gladstone's ministries extended these laws. Conservative parliaments added improvements in 1891, 1896, and 1903, until the peasants began to be true landowners, with a chance to develop through their skill and industry their native land.

408. Renewed Agitation for an Irish Parliament. — Meanwhile in 1870 a group of Irish members of parliament had begun a new agitation for "Home Rule," that is, a separate Irish parliament. Soon afterward the same leaders organized the *Land League*, to try to fix rents, as labor unions sometimes try to fix wages. For a time the Liberal ministries frowned on both these movements, and prosecuted the Land League sternly, on the ground that it encouraged crime against the landlords.

Indeed, at the same time that the government was passing the beneficent land laws, it was also passing "Coercion Acts," to establish martial law in Ireland. The Coercion Acts were resisted by the Irish members with a vehemence seldom before seen in an English parliament, while outside the indignation was still greater. Many Irish leaders were put in jail, but this only made matters worse. In Dublin two prominent English officials were assassinated, and various threats showed how high Irish feeling ran.

409. The Irish Bloc Controls the Balance of Power. — Suddenly Gladstone made a change of front. In the new parliament of 1884 the Liberals were too weak to control the Commons without Irish support. But eighty-six of one hundred and five Irish members were "Home Rulers." To win their continued support, Gladstone, in 1886, came forward with a plan for Home

Rule and introduced a bill to restore a separate legislature to Ireland.

The Conservatives declared that this policy meant disunion and the ruin of the British Empire, and they were joined by many Liberals who took the name of *Liberal Unionists*. The bill was defeated, but it made the issue in the next election a few years later. In 1893 Gladstone tried to have another Home Rule measure carried. This time the Commons passed the bill, but the Lords threw it out. Moreover, even in the Commons the majority was small. The Irish members themselves had split into two factions, chiefly because one section opposed their leader, Parnell, on personal grounds. Gladstone, therefore, felt that the nation would not support him in any attempt to "swamp" the Lords. Soon his advanced age compelled him to retire from parliamentary life, and the Liberals, left without a leader, went out of power for a time.

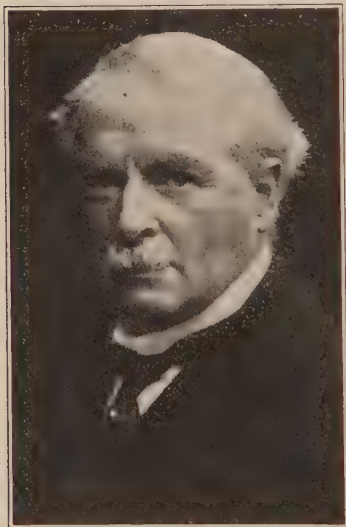
410. The Conservatives and Unionists tried to conciliate Ireland by extending still further the system of government loans to the Irish farmers, though formerly they had railed at such acts as robbery and socialism. They also granted a kind of local "home rule," by establishing elective County Councils, like those of England. The Irish members in the meantime kept up the agitation for national Home Rule, but for a time even the Liberals seemed to have lost interest in the question. At any rate it was clear that nothing could be done until the power of the House of Lords was broken.

This happened in 1911. Five years before that date the Liberals had come into power. Various measures proposed by the Liberal majority in the Commons were voted down by the Lords. In 1909 the Liberal *Lloyd George* came forward with a radical tax reform. The Commons passed it but the Lords quickly threw it out. Sure of the support of the country, the Liberals now resolved to "mend or end" the Lords. By threatening to create five hundred peers the ministry forced the Lords to give their consent to a bill which practically reduced

them to a nonentity. Under its provisions any money bill passed by the Commons becomes law within a month, whether the Lords pass it or not, and any other measure approved by the Commons in three successive sessions becomes law in spite of the veto of the Lords. As the bill for Home Rule in Ireland

was passed three times, in 1912, 1913, and 1914, it became law.

Although the majority of Englishmen became reconciled to the idea of a special Irish parliament, fierce opposition arose in a small section of Ireland. Four counties in the northeast of the province of Ulster, where the English and Protestant element is dominant, absolutely refused to be governed by an Irish parliament. Such a body, they maintained, composed almost entirely of Irish Catholics, would be hostile to the interests of this section of Ireland. And when these *Ulsterites* saw that



Wide World Photos

LLOYD GEORGE

they could not prevent the passage of the Home Rule Act by legal means, they threatened rebellion. Volunteers were enrolled and drilled, and arms were brought into the country. The Irish Nationalists (the Home Rule party) made similar preparations. Civil war seemed imminent, but the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 postponed the issue. The English ministry then secured an act suspending the operation of Home Rule till after the War.

CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

411. Size of the British Empire. — Of all peoples the English are the most successful in colonizing new lands and in ruling semibarbarous races. The British Empire covers thirteen million square miles, or over four times the area of the United States, and its population numbers about four hundred and fifty millions, or about one fourth of the whole human race. Forty-seven millions of this number dwell in the British Isles, and about twelve million more of English descent live in self-governing colonies — mainly in Canada and Australia. The other seven eighths of the vast population of the Empire are of non-European blood, and for the most part they are subject peoples. The population of India accounts for about three fourths of the total.

412. The outlying possessions are of two kinds : (1) those with large natural resources of their own, such as Canada, India, Egypt, Australia, South Africa, and the West Indian and South American colonies ; and (2) coaling stations and naval posts commanding the routes to these possessions, such as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Ceylon, St. Helena, Trinidad, and scores more.

Some of these colonies are completely self-governing, with no dependence upon England except in form. This is true of Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland, New Zealand, and Southern Rhodesia. These colonies are said to have "responsible governments." The English ministry appoints a Governor General, whose powers resemble those of the king in England. But the people of the colony elect the local legislature ; and the real executive is the local ministry,

responsible to the legislature, as the ministry in England is to parliament.

In another group of colonies, the governors and officials, sent out from England, really control the whole government. This class of *crown colonies* comprises most of the naval posts, like Gibraltar, and also those colonies lying in the torrid zone, where the population, of course, is mainly non-European.



AN UNUSUAL VIEW OF GIBRALTAR

413. India occupies a place of its own in the system of British possessions. It is neither self-governing nor a crown colony. Until 1857 it remained under the control of the East India Company, but in that year came the *Sepoy mutiny* — a rising of some of the native soldiers — and when order had been restored, India was annexed to the British crown. A member of the British cabinet is Secretary of State for India, assisted by a small council sitting in London. A viceroy represents the British government in India and resides, since 1912, in Delhi, the ancient capital of India. At his side are a legislative and an

executive council with whose advice he governs. Provincial governors subordinate to him are appointed, some with, others without, advisory councils. To allay national unrest and to satisfy, in part at least, the demand of the natives for self-government, an act of 1909 gave to native Hindus and Mohammedans seats in the two councils of the viceroy as well as in those of the provincial governors.¹

The English are making a notable attempt to introduce self-government and to get the natives to care for it. Towns are invited to elect municipal councils and to take charge of their streets and drainage and other matters of local welfare. The officers of the old East India Company were sometimes rapacious robbers, oppressing the natives to fill their



Underwood and Underwood

ENTRANCE TO VICTORIA STATION,
BOMBAY, INDIA

own and the Company's coffers ; but since India has been directly under the government in London, English rule, for the most part, has been wise, firm, and just, and has aimed at the good of the natives. India pays no taxes into the English treasury. Indeed, the cost of government is a drain on that treasury, but her trade is a chief source of British wealth.

The constant petty wars, which formerly were always wasting the land, have been wholly done away with, and the terrible famines, which from time immemorial have desolated it at intervals, have become fewer, and on the whole, less serious. As a result, population has increased rapidly, — over fifty per cent

¹ Outside the territory ruled directly by England there are also more than six hundred native principalities, large and small, where the governments are nominally independent but really directed by resident English agents.

in a century, — and to-day over three hundred million people dwell in India. England has built railroads, and developed cotton industries. Cotton mills give a Western appearance to parts of this ancient Oriental land. India has 800 newspapers (printed in twenty different languages), and 5,000,000 students are being educated in schools of many grades.

Still, acute critics maintain that all this is superficial, and that except for the growth in numbers, and except that the people have been forced to stop burning widows alive, the condition of India is little better than before. There seems to be no attachment among the natives for English rule. The Hindus cannot understand Western civilization, and they do not like it. Unrest has been frequent in India, but is confined to the more intellectual classes. The recent phases of the movement, inspired by the cry for self-determination during the War, will be noted in its proper place (§ 586).

414. Egypt was one of the tributary states of Turkey in name until 1914. In fact, however, it had been independent for most of the nineteenth century, until, in 1881, a new master stepped in. The government had borrowed recklessly and spent wastefully, and the land was misgoverned and oppressed by crushing taxation. Then, in 1879, England and France jointly intervened to secure payment of debts due from the Egyptian Khedive to English and French capitalists. In 1881 came a native Egyptian rising against this foreign control. France withdrew. England stayed,¹ restored order, and "occupied" the country.

After that time, Egypt was really an English protectorate. The Khedive and all the machinery of the old government remained unchanged; but an English agent was always present at the court "to offer advice," and the Khedive understood

¹ England had a special motive for staying. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869. In 1875 the English government (Disraeli's administration) bought from the Egyptian government its share of the Canal stock, and the English intervention in Egypt was largely to protect this property.

that this advice must be followed. Many Englishmen entered the service of the Egyptian government, too, and all such officers looked to the English agent as their real head.

When England put down anarchy in 1881, the ministry declared that the occupancy would be only temporary. This statement of Gladstone's ministry was made in good faith, and was in keeping with other parts of Gladstone's modest foreign policy. None the less, it has long been certain that no English government will willingly give up Egypt; and in 1914, during the great European war, England announced a full protectorate. The possession of that country, together with the mastery of the Suez Canal, insures the route to India; and Egypt has been made a base of operation, also, from which English rule has been extended far toward Central Africa. After the Great War, however, Egyptian demands for independence became so insistent that England was forced to make large concessions (§ 586).

415. Self-government in the Dominions. — One of the most important features of the nineteenth century was the development of self-government in those colonies where white people predominate. The loss of the American colonies had taught Great Britain a lesson, and the next colony to show violent dissatisfaction had all its wishes granted.

Such a case occurred in Canada in 1837. The two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, or what are now Ontario and Quebec, had been governed for many years much as Massachusetts or Virginia was governed before 1776. There had been a growing dissatisfaction because the legislatures did not have a more complete control over the finances and over the executive; and the accession of the girl-queen in England in 1837 was the signal for a rising. The rebellion was stamped out quickly; but an English commissioner, sent over to investigate, recommended that the demands of the conquered rebels should be granted. Parliament adopted this recommendation. In 1839 the two provinces were granted responsible ministries. Eng-

land, in name, retained a veto upon Canadian legislation; but it has never even been used. In 1850 a like plan for self-government was granted to the Australian colonies, and, in 1872, to Cape Colony.

*Wide World Photos*

CANADIAN PARLIAMENT BUILDING, OTTAWA

416. **South Africa** is not an altogether satisfactory part of the Empire for Englishmen to contemplate. England seized Cape Colony from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars. English settlers came in rapidly, but in 1834 a portion of the old Dutch colonists “trekked” (moved with families, ox-wagons, herds, and flocks) north into the wilderness, and set up an independent government in Natal. During the preceding year the English parliament had abolished slavery. The Dutch planters were mostly slaveholders and to preserve their “black property” tried to get out of reach of British law. A few years later the British annexed Natal, and the Dutch again trekked into what is known as the Orange Free State, and, in 1848, once more into the country beyond the Vaal River. These “Transvaal” settlers

became involved in serious difficulties with the native blacks, and a native rising threatened to exterminate Europeans in South Africa. England interposed, put down the Zulus, and extended her authority once more over the Boer states.

In 1880 the Boers, as the Dutch there are called, rebelled, and, with their magnificent marksmanship, destroyed a British force at the battle of Majuba Hill. Gladstone adopted the view that the Boers had been wrongfully deprived of their independence, and, without attempting to avenge Majuba Hill, he magnanimously withdrew the British claims and left to the Boers of the Transvaal a virtual independence, under British "protection." The exact relations between the two countries, however, were not well defined, and much ground was left for future disputes.

Soon afterward, gold was discovered in the Transvaal, and English and other foreigners rushed in, so as to outnumber the Boer citizens. The Boers, who were simple farmers, unable themselves to develop the country, had at first invited immigrants, but soon became jealous of their growing numbers and refused them many political rights. England attempted to secure better treatment for her citizens among these new settlers, and was bent upon reasserting her authority in general. The Boers saw that England had determined to force a policy which would put the government of the little land into the hands of these foreign immigrants ("Outlanders"), and they declared war (1899). The Orange Free State joined the Transvaal, and the little republics carried on a marvelous and heroic struggle. They were finally beaten, of course. England adopted a generous policy toward the conquered, making large gifts of money to restock their ruined farms, and granting liberal self-government, without any discrimination against her recent foes.

417. Federation of Groups of Colonies. — In 1867 another great advance was made by the organization of the Dominion of Canada. This is a federal state, similar to the United States,

composed now of nine provinces, besides several territories. The union has a two-house legislature, with a responsible ministry; and each of the nine provinces has its own local legislature and ministry.

A similar union of the seven Australian colonies into one federal state was agitated for many years. After two federal conventions and a popular vote, it was at last established on the first day of the twentieth century.

Finally, in 1909, the four South African states were combined into a similar federation, with the name "The Union of South Africa."

Thus three new English nations were formed — each large enough to command respect among the nations of the world (each one double the size of the United States when its independence was achieved).

418. Imperial Federation. — The Boer War and the great European struggle of 1914 showed that there was a strong tie between England and her self-governing colonies; for, both times, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada all made liberal gifts of troops and money to assist the mother country.

The bond which holds together the white parts of the Empire is, however, almost wholly one of sentiment. Certainly, if either Canada or Australia wished to set up as an independent nation, England would hardly be able to hold it. At present the colonists in these lands have no cause to complain, except in one respect: namely, they have no voice in deciding the policy of the Empire toward the other states of the world.

This evil is largely offset by the fact that the English navy affords protection to the Canadian and Australian trade, so that these large and wealthy countries are practically freed from all burden of military and naval defense. Yet the situation is not altogether satisfactory. A Canadian may properly wish a voice in the policy of the Empire; that is, he may wish to be a citizen in as full a degree as if he lived in England; and England may properly think that Canada ought to contribute

something to imperial defense. It has been proposed to meet both these wants by some form of *imperial federation*.

This means that the different parts of the Empire would be left their present parliaments for local matters, but that the management of matters that concern the Empire as a whole would be turned over to a new parliament made up of representatives in fit proportion from England and her colonies. Some of the sponsors of imperial federation would like to see all import duties between England and her self-governing colonies abolished and, at the same time, a protective tariff enforced against all non-British nations. So far the scheme has not been completely carried out, but the self-governing colonies grant the mother country a reduction on import duties, thus making it easier for England to exclude from her colonies the competition of foreign manufacturers.

PART IX: WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE AFTER THE FRANCO- PRUSSIAN WAR, 1871

CHAPTER XXXVII

FRANCE: THE THIRD REPUBLIC

THE PARIS COMMUNE

419. The National Assembly had hardly arranged peace with Germany (§ 377) when it was confronted with a terrible rebellion at home. During the siege all adult males of the capital had been armed as National Guards. When it was over every one who could get away from the distressed city temporarily did so, including one hundred and fifty thousand of the wealthier National Guards. Paris was left to the mercy of the radical and socialistic element. These men had kept their arms, concealed a powerful artillery, and preserved their military organization. They now set up a government of their own by choosing a *Central Committee*.

The National Assembly in the meantime had established itself at Versailles. The radical republicans of Paris suspected that the Assembly wished to restore the monarchy. In fact, a large majority of the members of the Assembly were monarchists, as events soon were to prove. The Assembly had also incurred the wrath of the poorer classes of the city by two unwise measures. It insisted on the immediate payment of rents and notes which had been suspended during the siege, and it stopped almost entirely the payment of the National Guards, although it was for many the only means of subsistence until normal conditions returned. The republicans and socialists took advan-

tage of these harsh measures to stir up the masses and to gain their support for their plans. These plans aimed at the restoration of the republic and at revenge for 1848 (§ 339).

For two weeks Paris and Versailles faced each other like two hostile camps. The Parisians prepared feverishly for the coming struggle. On March 18 the Assembly sent a detachment of troops to secure the artillery of the National Guards. A mob gathered to resist them. The troops refused to fire, and looked on while two of their officers were seized and shot by the mob. Then a considerable number of these National Guards which had hitherto obeyed the Assembly went over to the rebels.

420. The Commune. — In the meantime an election was held in Paris for a *General Council*, at which the radicals and socialists obtained a large majority. The General Council, acting with the Central Committee, set up the Commune and adopted the red flag, March 20, 1871. There were now two governments in France, and a struggle for supremacy was sure to follow.

The program of the Commune advocated extreme local self-government for all France. For in 1848 the socialists and "reds" had learned that the country districts were overwhelmingly opposed to them. If each city and village could become an almost independent state, then the radicals hoped to carry out their socialistic policy in Paris and in other large cities.

On account of their demand for this semi-independence of the towns or "communes" the Paris rebels are properly called the *Communards*. However, since many of them were socialists and as such opposed to private property, which according to them should be held in common, they are often referred to as *communists*.

France, though still bleeding from the wounds inflicted by the war, refused to be dismembered by internal revolt. The excited middle classes felt, moreover, that the right of private property was at stake. The Commune had in fact inaugurated such a "Reign of Terror" and plundered so much private

property that the worst fears seemed well grounded. Hence the Assembly of Versailles had the support of the bulk of the nation.

421. The Struggle. — On April 2 the Versailles Assembly attacked Paris with the regular troops which had been released from German captivity. The struggle lasted for two months and was utterly ferocious. The Assembly refused to treat the rebels as regular combatants and executed those that fell into its hands. In retaliation, the Commune seized several hundred hostages from the better classes that remained in Paris, among them the Archbishop of Paris and about two hundred priests, and threatened to shoot three of them for every one of its soldiers shot after surrender.

The bombardment of Paris by the forces of the Versailles government was far more destructive than that by the Germans had been. After the defenses were sufficiently weakened the troops forced their way into the city May 21. Several sections were already in flames. For the next eight days anarchy reigned in the unfortunate city. Bands of men and women, supplied with petroleum, ran hither and thither, firing public buildings and private houses. The famous Tuileries, the Palais Royal, and other palaces, museums, and art galleries were delivered to the flames and entirely or partly destroyed. Meanwhile desperate fighting surged from street to street. The Versailles troops pressed on across barricades and burning squares, eager to save the hostages. But they came too late. The Archbishop and sixty-two others were murdered by the frenzied mob. At last the bloody struggle ended with the death or capture of thousands of communists.

France was in no mood to show mercy. Court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for months, and some thirteen thousand survivors were condemned to penal colonies where many succumbed to the tropical climate. As in 1848, the middle classes had their revenge, but the memories of 1848 and 1871 only served to increase the bitterness between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

DEFINITE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

422. Government under the Assembly, 1870-1876. — The Assembly had been elected simply with a view to making peace. In choosing it the people had thought of nothing else. It was limited by no constitution and it had no definite term of office. Certainly it had not been commissioned to make a constitution or to rule indefinitely; but it did both these things.

The Republican party, under their leader *Gambetta*, had been loudest in clamoring for war, and the same party had continued the war after Sedan. Now, after it was over, the people elected men who could be counted upon not to renew it rashly. As it happened the majority of these men were monarchists. Everybody expected the monarchy to be set up within a short time, and the Assembly failed to take that step only because the monarchists were divided into rival groups, each with its own candidate for the throne, *Imperialists* (Bonapartists), *Orleanists* (supporters of the Count of Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe), and *Legitimists* (adherents of the Count of Chambord, grandson of Charles X). The Republicans were very active among the people, and republican sentiment increased rapidly. The monarchists in the Assembly realized that a new election might bring a Republican majority, and so for five years they resisted all demands of the Republicans for a dissolution.

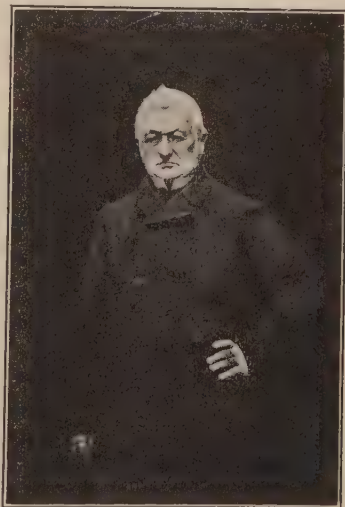
423. Presidency of Thiers and MacMahon. — With peace secured and the Commune crushed, the Assembly felt compelled now to replace the provisional government (§ 377) by some more regular form. Accordingly, Thiers, hitherto the provisional head of the state, was elected *President of the Republic*. The government, however, was still provisional. The majority of the Assembly hoped to change to a monarchy at some favorable moment, and they gave Thiers no fixed term of office.

Still his presidency lasted two years longer. During this time France bravely took up the work of reconstruction. The educational system and the army were reorganized, the latter

after the Prussian model. Then France was freed from foreign occupation. It had been agreed that the war indemnity should be paid in installments through three years, and German garrisons were to remain in France as a security for payment. But in eighteen months the last franc was paid, to the astonishment of friend and foe alike. A large share of the credit for this rapid payment belongs to the French clergy, who untiringly exhorted the people to free their beloved country from the invader.

Thiers himself was an old Orleanist, but he saw that to establish the monarchy was to risk civil war. Accordingly he allied himself with the moderate Republicans in the Assembly. This soon led to friction between the president and the royalist majority, and in May, 1873, a coalition of royalists forced him to resign.

In his place the royalists elected *Marshal MacMahon*, an ardent Orleanist. For some months the restoration of the monarchy seemed almost certain. Legitimists and Orleanists had at last united in support of the Count of Chambord, who agreed to adopt the Count of Paris as his heir. The monarchists had the machinery of government in their hands and were just ready to proclaim the monarchy when the two factions split again. The rupture was due to the stubborn attitude of the future king on some points of detail, notably whether the flag of France should be the tricolor, the emblem of the Revolution of 1789, or the white lilies of the Bourbons. The Count of Chambord indignantly rejected the "symbol of the Revolution"



THIERS

and declared he would not give up the flag of his grandfather. On this formality the negotiations broke down.

424. The Constitution of the Republic Adopted. — In 1875, the Assembly adopted a republican constitution. Slightly modified by later amendments, it is the constitution of the present French Republic. It has never been submitted to the people.

The constitution is very brief, because the monarchists preferred to leave details to be settled by later legislation, hoping to adapt it to a monarchic government. The word "republic" did not appear in the original draft, but was later introduced, indirectly, by amendment. Originally the constitution spoke of a "Chief Executive"; an amendment changed this title to "President of the Republic." In 1884 another amendment declared the republican form of government "not subject to repeal," and royal princes were made ineligible for the presidency. (The Count of Chambord had died the year before.)

425. Organization of the Government. — The legislature has two branches, the *Senate* and the *Chamber of Deputies*. There are three hundred senators, holding office for nine years. One third goes out each third year. At first seventy-five of the members were to hold office for life, but in 1884 life membership was abolished. The senators are appointed by electoral colleges made up of deputies, delegates of communes, and others. The deputies are chosen by manhood suffrage for a term of four years.

When the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies agree that it is desirable to amend the constitution, or when it is necessary to choose a president, the two houses meet together, at Versailles, away from possible disturbances in Paris. In this joint form, they take the name of *National Assembly*. A simple majority vote of this National Assembly suffices to change the constitution.

The *executive* consists of a president, elected for seven years by the National Assembly, and of the ministry he appoints. The president has much less power than the President of the

United States. He is little more than a figurehead. He can act only through his ministers.

The ministers, as in England, are the real executive. They wield enormous power, directing all legislation, appointing a vast multitude of officials, and carrying on the government. Nominally, the president appoints the ministers; but in prac-



THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS
The Seine River is in the foreground.

tice, he always must name those who will be acceptable to the Chamber. The ministry is obliged to resign when it ceases to have a majority of deputies to support its measures, or when it fails to give a satisfactory explanation of its actions.

France, like most continental states, has not two great parties, such as the Conservatives and Liberals in England or the Republicans and Democrats in the United States. Instead, there are from seven to ten parties none of which can count on the steady support of a large proportion of the voters. Neither are the party lines well defined. Some of them differ from others only

on details of political theory. Deputies frequently abandon their party on particular issues. As a consequence, the majorities supporting a ministry often melt away in a very short time, and the ministry has to resign. Rapid and bewildering changes of ministries have been characteristic of modern political life in France.

426. Stability of the Republic. — In spite of the adoption of the new constitution, the Assembly did not at once give way to a new legislature. But after almost every "by-election" (to fill a vacancy upon death or resignation) the Republicans gained a seat, until by 1876 that party had gained a bare majority of the seats. It at once dissolved the Assembly and provided for a new election, which created a Chamber of Deputies two-thirds Republican.

The Senate was still monarchic, and, with its support, President MacMahon tried to keep a monarchist ministry. When the Republicans objected, the president and the Senate dissolved the Chamber of Deputies (as the constitution gives them power to do when they act together), and the ministry changed prefects and local officers all over France, in order to control the elections. But the Republicans under the leadership of Gambetta returned to the Chamber of Deputies even stronger than before. This body then withheld all votes of supplies until MacMahon had appointed a Republican ministry. In 1879 the renewal of one third of the Senate gave the Republicans a majority of that house also, and, soon after, MacMahon resigned. Then the National Assembly elected to the presidency Grévy, an ardent Republican; and thus all branches of the government machinery came under the control of the Republicans.

Since that time the republican form of government has never been seriously threatened. The Third Republic has proved more stable than any other form of government that France has had since 1789. It has endured for nearly sixty years. True, there have been occasional dissatisfaction and hopes for change. In 1885, General Boulanger, a Bonapartist and an ardent advo-

cate of a war of revenge against Germany, plotted to become master of France, but his whole scheme collapsed ignominiously. Former governments of France were often the work of a small but determined faction, but the Third Republic gradually gained the support of the nation at large.

FRANCE TO-DAY

427. The Religious Question. — Modern France has been rather unpleasantly conspicuous for a bitter religious struggle. The Catholic Church, to which 87% of the French people belong, at least in name, was the object of constant attacks on the part of the republican government. This requires some explanation.

During the terrible calamity of 1870-1871 nothing could have been more loyal than the attitude of the Catholics, clergy and laity. They vied with each other in arousing and maintaining the patriotic efforts of the nation, and, after the war, they again were in the forefront in healing the many wounds. In the early seventies a wave of religious fervor swept over the country, and the prospects for the future seemed bright.

The difficulties of the Catholics began with the choice of the new form of government. The National Assembly was strongly Catholic. But it was also, as we have seen, strongly royalist (§ 422), and so were the majority of the bishops and priests and of the leading Catholic laymen. Their attitude can be understood only from the peculiar circumstances of French history since the Revolution of 1789. That movement had been intensely hostile to the Church and waged against it a war to the knife. The Jacobin leaders inveighed not only against the rights of the clergy, but against religion in general. And ever since that time republicanism was identified with the anti-Christian forces, while the monarchists usually were more inclined to respect the rights of the Catholic Church. It is hardly necessary to say that the Church is not opposed to any form of legitimate government, be it monarchic or republican. But

its leaders naturally favored that party from which it expected less hostility.

In the debates on the future form of government in 1871 the Republicans were led by Gambetta, a fierce and fiery enemy of Catholicism. No wonder that the French Catholics almost in a body joined the opposing party. This gave the Republicans a pretext for persecution as soon as they came into power. Gambetta rallied his forces by the slogan, "Clericalism is the enemy," meaning, of course, the enemy of the republic.

428. The Anti-Christian Campaign. — No sooner was the republic firmly established than the anti-Christian campaign began in earnest. From 1876 to 1886 various laws excluded the clergy from public institutions, the army, the hospitals, and other houses of public charity. But soon the struggle centered around the question of religious education. In 1886 all religious teaching was banished from the public grade schools. Private schools (corresponding to our parochial schools), however, were allowed to continue, and they flourished exceedingly, though harassed in various ways by the government. The teachers were in almost all cases members of religious orders, and the government realized that so long as these orders existed the private schools would continue successfully to compete with the state schools. Hence the religious orders had to be suppressed.

When, in 1878, the great Leo XIII ascended the papal throne, he at once set to work to bring about a better understanding between Catholics and Republicans. But his efforts were thwarted partly by the stubborn attitude of the royalist Catholics, partly by the anti-Christian measures of the Republicans. For a while the Catholics endeavored to form a distinctly Catholic party for the defense of their rights at the polls, but the attempt failed because they could not agree whether it should be royalist or republican. In 1892 the pope made another attempt to unite the Catholics in loyal support of the republic and in defense of their interests. But again, after some measure of success, the old dissensions broke out.

429. The Dreyfus Affair. — The notorious Dreyfus Affair helped to sharpen anti-Catholic feeling. Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish army officer of high rank and a Republican in politics, had been convicted by a court martial, in 1894, of having betrayed military secrets to Germany. Three years later another Republican officer claimed to have found proof that Dreyfus was the innocent victim of the prejudice of his judges, all monarchistic army officers. The military authorities felt bound in honor to uphold their verdict and refused a new trial. Then a Republican journalist took up the cause of Dreyfus. Soon all France was divided into two hostile camps: the Republicans and Socialists ferociously attacked the court and the monarchists, while the Catholic press generally upheld the verdict. Dreyfus was finally pardoned by the President. In 1906 the highest court of France annulled the decision of the military court and restored Dreyfus to his former rank in the army.

430. The Anti-Catholic Laws. — Meanwhile, within the Republican ranks the power steadily passed from the Moderates to the Radicals. Finally the latter felt strong enough to deliver decisive blows. In 1901 a law was passed forbidding all religious orders and congregations who would not apply to the government for authorization to teach in any French school, public or private. A number of them left France at once; others applied for authorization but were rejected and expelled. This, of course, ruined many private schools. Nearly 15,000 of them were closed by 1904.

The Republicans then proceeded to sever all connection between Church and State. In 1905 they abolished the Concordat of 1801 (§ 257) which Napoleon had concluded with the Holy See. This meant that all state support to the Church was withdrawn. The buildings, churches, seminaries, residences of the clergy, etc. became property of the government. The churches are still open to Catholic worship, but only on sufferance by the government. It is not yet possible to foresee all the results of these iniquitous laws. Certainly the French

Catholics with great courage have taken up the task of providing for the maintenance of the Catholic religion and of Catholic education under the changed conditions. The Great War (1914) witnessed a marked religious revival, and after the return of peace, anti-Catholic feeling became less pronounced because of the patriotism and self-sacrifice of the clergy.

431. The Administration of France. — France is divided into ninety departments. Each department has an executive officer, called a prefect, and a General Council. The prefect is appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and he may be removed by the same authority. He appoints the police, postmen, and other local officers. The General Council is elected by the people, but its decrees on local taxation, expenditures, and other matters are subject to the supervision of the government at Paris. Indeed, the central government may dissolve a departmental council at any time and order a reëlection.

The thirty-six thousand communes ¹ of France vary in size from the great city of Marseille to rural villages with only a few hundred people, but all have the same system of government. Each has a mayor and a council. Before 1884 the mayor was chosen by the Minister of the Interior; since that time he has been elected by the municipal council. However, he is still under the control of the central government, which may revise his actions or even remove him from office. Likewise, the acts of the municipal council are subject to the approval of the prefects. The government at Paris may even dissolve it.

From this it will be clear that the French system of government is much more centralized than ours. The central government wields an enormous power, reaching down to minute details of local affairs. The large number of offices within the gift of the central government give it a powerful hold on the country

¹ There are two other local divisions, intermediate between commune and department, of less importance. The *canton* is the unit for the administration of justice. The *arrondissement* is the unit for the election of a deputy to the national legislature, like our congressional district.

and enable it, especially, to exert a great influence on the elections. Political scandals, favoritism, and "graft" have been a rather prominent feature of the Third Republic.

432. Education is free, compulsory, and strictly regulated by the state. That is, the government appoints the teachers and prescribes the course of studies. In higher education France holds a prominent place. Its universities and libraries, its museums and art galleries, are among the best in the world and attract many foreign students. Modern France, like the France of Louis XIV, has again achieved great literary and artistic distinction. French taste and French fashion, on account of their refinement and elegance, possess a peculiar charm even over foreigners and set the standard in many countries. French writers, too, through their talent for clear, precise, and elegant expression, have won recognition far beyond their native land. Unfortunately, some of the greatest lights among them have contributed not a little toward the spread of infidelity and the glorification of vice. Still it is likewise true that much of the best Catholic scholarship and literature comes from France.

433. The People. — Noteworthy facts about the French people are the large number of small landowners and the prosperity of the farmers. Half the entire population live on the soil. The great mass of the cultivators own little farms of from five to twenty-five acres each. The soil is fertile, and the farmer knows his business well. He and his fellows in the trades and professions are very thrifty. The French have rightly been called "a nation of little savers."

They are, for the same reason, a nation of money lenders. France, before the Great War, had almost become the world's banker, and many a huge loan had been floated and many a foreign enterprise financed by the French bankers. France furnished England cash for the Boer War (§ 416), Russia about three billions for the development of that country, and American bankers and capitalists the sums needed to tide over the "crisis" of 1907-1908. Her own national debt is held, not like the

American or English, by men of great wealth, in large amounts, but by some three million French people — shopkeepers, clerks, artisans, farmers — in small amounts. The French government encourages this tendency of the common people to save and to invest by issuing bonds of very small denominations.

A less favorable aspect of French society has given much cause for discussion and some concern to French statesmen and patriots. While the population of all other European countries during the nineteenth century increased rapidly, that of France remained almost stationary. Thus, during the second half of that century Germany grew by over twenty-one millions while France gained less than three millions. The causes of this phenomenon are manifold and need not detain us here. The average Frenchman maintains a high standard of comfort and does not wish to be burdened with a large family. The government has tried various means to encourage large families, but without much success. The only remedy will be a return of the masses to practical Christianity.

434. The French Colonial Empire. — About 1750 France bade fair to be the great colonial power of the world. The century-long duel with England was then half over. "New France" was written on the map across the valley of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi; and the richest lands of the Orient seemed within the French grasp. Thirty years later saw France stripped of all her possessions outside Europe, except a few unimportant islands in the Indian Ocean, in the Antilles, and some small ports in India (§§ 162-167).

But in the nineteenth century once again France became a colonial power. In 1830 she gained a foothold in Algiers in North Africa. The little territory grew, through constant savage and bloody wars, into complete military occupancy of all *Algeria*. In the early years of the Third Republic civil rule was introduced. Since 1880 it has been legally a part of France rather than a foreign possession, separated from the rest by a strip of sea. It is divided into three departments which are ruled

essentially like French departments. Under the French administration something of the productiveness and bloom which made it one of the finest Roman colonies returned to the desolate Barbary Coast.

In 1881 France seized *Tunis*, to the east of Algeria, as a "protectorate," that is, France controls its relations with foreign governments, but leaves it to manage its own internal affairs — except that the French enjoy special privileges in the country. In 1904 France began to reduce *Morocco* to a like condition, but the protectorate was not proclaimed until 1912.

The rest of the vast colonial empire, apart from these possessions in North Africa, has been acquired since the Franco-Prussian War (except for a small beginning made by Napoleon III). The seizure of territory has very commonly been based upon ancient claims connected with the period before the French Revolution. In Asia, France controls the greater part of the peninsula of *Indo-China*. In Africa she kept hold upon *Senegal* from her ancient colonial empire, and since 1884 she has acquired huge possessions on both the east and the west coasts, besides the great island of *Madagascar* (see map of Africa). To-day she controls half the territory of the continent. In South America France holds *Guiana* (or Cayenne), the notorious penal colony where so many political exiles succumbed to the murderous climate, and a few islands in the Lesser Antilles (West Indies). In Oceanica, between 1884 and 1887, she secured *New Caledonia*, *Tahiti*, and several smaller islands.

Though France has these vast possessions, she is not a colonizing nation. Large parts of these regions are almost uninhabited, or peopled by savage tribes, and are under military government. The total population (not counting the protectorates) is about forty-one millions. But even in the settled portions the European population is small. The French, as a rule, do not emigrate. The fertility of the home soil and the scant increase of the home population do not urge the average Frenchman to seek his fortunes elsewhere. The total area of the colonial posses-

sions is nearly six million square miles, of which about five and a quarter millions are in Africa. All the settled and orderly regions have a share in self-government, and some of them have representatives in the Chamber of Deputies at Paris.

435. Missionary Work. — Though France has not sent many of her people as settlers to the colonies, she has achieved distinction in another field of world-enterprise, *evangelization*. In that heroic band of missionaries which the Catholic Church sends to every quarter of the globe to carry out her Divine Founder's injunction "Go ye and teach all nations," the French missionaries easily stand in the forefront. In the ease with which they adapt themselves to all climes and all nations, in the intrepidity with which they face hardship, danger, and death, they exhibit the best and noblest traits of the character of France, the France of the crusades and of medieval chivalry. To-day a large number of missionaries are Frenchmen, and a great part of the sums needed to carry on the mission work is contributed by the generous French Catholics. Besides, the apostolic and scholarly labors of these missionaries have done much to maintain French influence and prestige in Asia Minor, India, China, and elsewhere.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

1871-1914

1871-1914

SCALE OF MILES





CHAPTER XXXVIII

GERMANY AFTER 1871

THE GOVERNMENT

436. Germany a Federal State. — The Germanic Confederation (1815–1867) was a confederacy of sovereign states, a union even weaker than that of our American states under the Articles of Confederation. The German Empire, however, was a true federal state, like our own.

It had the peculiarity that it was the only strong federal state in existence made up of monarchies. Twenty-five states composed the Empire, of which four were kingdoms (Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg), eighteen duchies, grand duchies, or principalities, and only three republican in character — the city states of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. Each of these twenty-five states had its own legislature and executive. Alsace-Lorraine, the territory wrested from France in 1871, never had full state rights. In 1911 it was given a constitution with a local upper and lower house, but the executive (governor) remained an appointee of the Emperor.

437. The Reichstag. — The German national legislature consisted of two houses, the lower house, or *Reichstag*, and the upper house, or *Bundesrat*. The former was made up of representatives of the people. The members were elected by manhood suffrage, in single districts, like our congressmen, for a term of five years. There were, in 1914, 397 delegates, 236 (a majority) of which came from Prussia alone.

Systems like this need a periodic reapportionment of the representatives, to suit changes in population in the various districts. Although in the United States we usually have a

reapportionment every ten years (after every census) Germany until 1914 had none. In the meantime the population in some districts had doubled and trebled, while in others it had remained stationary, yet the former had no more representatives than the latter. This inequality operated chiefly against the socialists, who are usually strongest in the cities. Thus, in the elections of 1912, the Socialist vote was more than twice that of the next largest party (the Center), but their representatives in the Reichstag were 112 and 89 respectively.



THE REICHSTAG BUILDING, BERLIN

Every measure had to pass the Reichstag to become law, and that body also had the power to initiate legislation. But it seldom did so, because it had little chance of seeing its bills passed by the Bundesrat, unless it had first made sure of the approval of the government leaders. Even financial bills did not need, as in England and the United States, to be first introduced in the lower house. Moreover, the appropriations for the army were usually granted for a number of years, and once granted could be recalled only with the consent of the Bundesrat.

438. The Bundesrat. — The Bundesrat was really an assembly of the delegates, or ambassadors, of the various *sovereigns*

of the Empire. It consisted of sixty-one members appointed by the executives of the different states in fixed proportions. Prussia had seventeen, eight states had from two to six each, and the other seventeen states had one each. These delegates were usually instructed, that is, they voted in a body either in favor of or against a measure as they were told by the rulers of their respective states. Since this body practically initiated all legislation and since it framed the budget, it was really the most important branch of the legislature, and the Reichstag was in practice limited to accepting or rejecting measures of the Bundesrat.

The Bundesrat had even more powers than this. It was partly executive. From its members were formed some of the most important committees of the Empire, and through them and under the guidance of the Chancellor it officially instructed the various ministers and heads of departments.

439. The Emperor, in theory, was not a ruler, but rather the president of the federation of states. This presidency was hereditary with the king of Prussia — somewhat as if the governor of New York were ex-officio President of the United States. The Emperor had almost absolute control over foreign relations, could declare a defensive war and (with the consent of the Bundesrat) an offensive one. He supervised the execution of the imperial laws, but as there were no imperial officials to carry them out, their execution was intrusted to the state officials, and his powers in this respect were rather limited.

His chief authority came from the fact that in Prussia he was master, not only of Prussian but also of imperial affairs. As king of Prussia he instructed the Prussian delegation to the Bundesrat. With his seventeen delegates and those of some smaller states which usually voted with Prussia he really controlled that most important branch of the legislature. Moreover, the chairmanship of nearly all important committees belonged to Prussia, and therefore to the appointees of its king. And last but not least, the Emperor selected all the ministers of Prussia as well as of the Empire.

440. The Chancellor was the head of both Prussian and German ministries. Bismarck was the first to fill this position. In reality the Chancellor was the only minister, as all the heads of the other departments were subject to him rather than equal to him. He countersigned every act and decree of the Emperor and thereby, according to the constitution, assumed the responsibility for them. But the constitution failed to define exactly what this responsibility involved, and in practice it amounted to nothing more than occasional sharp criticisms of the Chancellor by the Reichstag. Unlike the English or French prime minister, he was not obliged to resign if outvoted by the Reichstag.

Amendments to the constitution were made just as ordinary laws were passed, except that fourteen negative votes in the Bundesrat were enough to veto a proposal. Thus the king of Prussia alone, or the smaller states alone, or the South German states alone, could prevent a change.

441. Aristocratic Government of Prussia. — The population of Prussia is about two thirds that of all Germany. Her king was the Emperor, the head of her ministry was usually also Chancellor of the Empire, and her military system was extended as far as possible throughout the whole Empire.

The Prussian constitution, until recently, was the one granted by Frederick William IV in 1850 (§ 354). The legislature (Landtag) consisted of a House of Lords and a House of Representatives. All males had a vote in the election of the lower house, but according to a peculiar system which gave an undue advantage to the wealthier citizens. The people did not vote directly for the candidates but for electors, somewhat as in Napoleon's plan during the Consulate (§ 255). There were three classes of voters, and each class was entitled to the same number of representatives. The first class was made up of the largest taxpayers, who together paid one third of the taxes; the next largest taxpayers, paying another third, formed the second class; and the rest of the people, who paid the remaining

third, formed the third class. It is clear that the first class was the smallest and the third the largest. But since each class had the same number of representatives the wealthier taxpayers were by far better represented than the poorer working people and the peasants. In 1907, for instance, in the first class there were 153,808 votes, while 2,591,950 voted in the third class. Other European states had not adopted universal and equal suffrage, but nowhere had the vote of the richer classes a more powerful influence than in Prussia.

Socialists and other democratic elements often expressed bitter discontent with this system, but not until the Great War overthrew the throne of the Hohenzollerns was it replaced by a better one.

442. Administration and Army. — It must be acknowledged that the management of domestic affairs was honest and frugal. The officials were usually trained to perform their duties efficiently and economically. In the administration of the large cities, especially, the German officials have achieved undeniable success. But their bureaucratic arrogance and their habit of meddling in everything made them often odious to the people.

The Prussian army system had been extended over all Germany. At twenty each man was obliged to enter the ranks for two years' service. For five years more he belonged to the active reserves, with two months each year in camp. This took the soldier to his twenty-seventh year. The next twelve years he formed part of the territorial reserve (*Landwehr*). As a matter of fact, however, in times of peace it was impossible to bring every man into the ranks. Exemption was allowed not only to those who suffered from physical defects, but also to the only son of a widow, to clergymen and others. Young men who passed through higher institutions of learning spent only one year in active service.

The army on peace footing comprised all those who were undergoing active training. In case of war this body and the active reserves were ready for offensive operations, while the

territorial reserves were to perform garrison duties and to guard lines of communication. In case of actual invasion all other males between seventeen and forty-five, or the army of emergency (*Landsturm*), were to be called out. This system enabled Germany to put over five million trained men into the field.

It is plain that the maintenance of such enormous forces constituted a heavy burden and a constant drain on the nation's resources. But the Prussian victories in 1866 and 1870 convinced all Europe of its advantages, and after that time almost every large state adopted it, with slight modifications. No doubt, certain good results came from the military discipline, but on the whole it was the most deplorable waste of energy that the world has ever seen.

It was also a constant temptation to war. A country with such an elaborate army as this has a multitude of highly trained officers and manufacturers of military engines who are anxious for war, because of the opportunities to achieve distinction or to increase profits. *Militarism*, too, is often one of the results of the existence of great armies, and it was certainly a prominent feature of the German Empire. By this term we understand the tendency to subordinate everything to military efficiency and to rely rather on intimidation and threats with the sword than on peaceful discussion of difficulties with other states.

443. The Emperors. -- William I was personally a man of simple habits and good intentions, but in public life he disappeared behind the towering figure of Bismarck, who as Chancellor guided the domestic and foreign policy of the Empire until 1890. In 1888 Frederick III succeeded his father. He was very popular, even in the southern states where the events of 1866 were not easily forgotten. He had long been hostile to Bismarck, and, being an admirer of the English constitution and the husband of one of Queen Victoria's daughters, he might have brought about important changes in the government, but at the time of his accession he was suffering from a fatal disease which carried him off after a reign of three months.

William II then ascended the throne. He soon showed that he meant to be no mere figurehead but to take a large personal share in the government. A conflict with the all-powerful Bismarck was unavoidable, and two years after William's accession the Iron Chancellor was suddenly dismissed from office. He retired to his estates, where he did not preserve an altogether dignified silence, but indulged frequently in bitter criticisms of the "new course." He died in 1898.

444. Character of William II. — After that time William II himself directed the policy of the Empire. He displayed an abundant self-confidence that frequently led him to disregard the advice of his ministers. The results of this personal government were on the whole not satisfactory. At first he seemed to be bent upon establishing good relations with all of Germany's powerful neighbors. But his autocratic inclinations, meddling interference, and sudden changes of opinion caused no little uneasiness and embarrassment to the nation. Abroad his frequent boastful references to Germany's "shining armor" and her great mission created apprehension. In domestic matters the Kaiser's encouragement of national ambition was more productive of results. During his reign industry and commerce developed at a tremendous rate until they were surpassed only by Great Britain and the United States.

The emperor was a thorough believer in the *divine right theory* (§ 93), and he repeatedly stated it in striking form. "The will of the king is the supreme law," runs one of his emphatic utterances. "The noblest task of the state is to protect the weaker classes of society and to aid them to higher economic development. . . . But this must be done by the state and not by the people," is another of his undemocratic statements. In an address to a body of teachers he told them to teach that the French Revolution was an "unmitigated crime against God and man," thus proving himself unable to distinguish between the beneficial results and the excesses of that movement.

RECENT MOVEMENTS

445. The Kulturkampf. — The new German Empire was hardly established when Bismarck inaugurated a persecution of the Catholics. During the last thirty years of the Confederation the Catholic body had grown in numbers, and, above all, in religious fervor and unity of purpose. This aroused the jealousy of the conservative Protestants, who were wont to look upon Prussia as an essentially Protestant state in which the members of the official Protestant church alone were to possess weight and influence. The Liberals, on the other hand, who had been foremost in advocating a united Germany under Prussian leadership, opposed the Church for a different reason. The nation was to dissociate itself entirely from any positive religious teaching, while the state, with the help of the state schools and the legislature, was to secure absolute control over the intellectual life (the Kultur) of the nation. Since the Catholics more than any other religious body opposed irreligious education, the Liberals naturally regarded them as their principal enemies. The struggle (Kulturkampf), therefore, upon which they entered was in the Catholic view a conflict between two civilizations, a civilization without God and a civilization based on religion.

But the real leader in the onslaught on the Catholic Church in Germany was Bismarck himself. Flushed with his recent successes he believed that the complete unity of the Empire demanded the absolute subjection of the Church to the State. This meant of course for the Catholics separation from the Holy See. Indeed, Bismarck hoped that eventually it would be possible to create a sort of German National Church wide enough to embrace both Protestants and Catholics. But he was doomed to bitter disappointment.

Shortly before the Franco-Prussian War, Pope Pius IX summoned to Rome a great ecumenical council, to be held in the Vatican palace (1868–1870). Among other important decisions this council defined the infallibility of the pope, that is, it

declared that the Roman Pontiff when addressing the entire Church and defining a point of faith or morals cannot err. Though the dogma was in the end almost unanimously accepted, during the debates preceding the final vote many bishops opposed its definition on various grounds, principally on the ground that it was untimely. Outside the council, especially in Germany, an outcry was raised against this "new papal aggression." As many of the German bishops in the council were among those who objected to the definition, Bismarck hoped to win them over to his schemes. But the bishops one and all refused to listen to his proposals, and when the dogma of infallibility was finally accepted by the Council they all loyally submitted.

Then the Iron Chancellor resorted to force, and with the help of the strong Liberal element in the Reichstag he passed a series of laws, designed to wean the Catholics gradually from the influence of the Holy See. In 1871 the Catholic section of the ministry of worship was suppressed, and the preaching of the clergy was put under the surveillance of the police. The next two years saw the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, and other religious orders from the territory of the Empire. At the same time there began a campaign of persecution against the Catholic Poles in the eastern provinces, attacking their religion and their language. Finally the clergy was deprived of all influence over the schools. All these measures were so many violations of the Prussian constitution, which explicitly guaranteed religious liberty. To remove this objection and to clear the ground for still more drastic legislation, Bismarck and his parliamentary majority simply annulled those articles of the constitution.

446. Then followed the notorious "May Laws," so called because four of the most objectionable ones were passed in May, 1873. These laws suppressed the free exercise of papal jurisdiction in Germany, interfered with the proper education of the clergy in the seminaries, prevented bishops from punishing disobedient members of their flocks, and deprived them of the power of appointment to ecclesiastical offices. Salaries were

stopped; fines, imprisonment, or exile threatened bishops and priests who refused to submit to these brutal laws. Various rewards and favors awaited those who acquiesced. Yet it was all in vain.

"We shall not go to Canossa," confidently boasted Bismarck in the Reichstag, but soon the magnificent resistance of the Catholic body forced him to acknowledge defeat. Bishops, priests, and laymen rose as one man for the defense of their faith. The May Laws were everywhere quietly but resolutely resisted. Hundreds preferred prison and exile to ignominious submission. Under the brilliant leadership of Windthorst, Mallinckrodt, and others, the Catholics formed a political party called the *Center*. Its strength increased from election to election until finally it held the balance of power in the Reichstag. By its unity of purpose and action, its unflinching devotion to Catholic principles, and its strictly lawful methods, it won the admiration of right-thinking people all over the world and inspired many who suffered for the same cause in other lands with new courage and determination.

447. Failure of Bismarck's Persecution of the Church. — Gradually Bismarck realized that he had undertaken a hopeless task and started on his bitter "journey to Canossa." The election of a new pope (1878), the wise and peace-loving Leo XIII, smoothed the way for him. One by one the iniquitous laws were repealed or allowed to drop into oblivion. The pope, on his part, conceded as much as he could, granting, for instance, to the government a restricted veto on candidates for bishoprics. When Bismarck went out of office, in 1890, the Catholics had recovered most of their former rights, though not all their grievances had been removed. The religious orders returned, one by one, and the Great War (1914-1918) again opened Germany even to the Jesuits. William II, on the whole, followed a conciliatory policy, but not until after the Great War were the last of these narrow and intolerant laws erased from the statute books.

448. Growth of the Socialist Party. — One of the reasons why Bismarck changed his attitude toward the Catholics was the alarming growth of socialism. After 1848 the principles of Karl Marx (§ 328) began to take root in Germany, chiefly through the activity of his zealous disciples, Engels and Lassalle. It made little progress until in Germany as in other countries the Industrial Revolution had created a large army of industrial workers. Then the workingmen began to form not only labor unions for the defense of their rights, but also a new political party. This was known as the Social Democratic Party. It based its platform on the teachings of Karl Marx. In 1875 that platform was boldly published with demands not only for the relief of the laborers but for more democracy in the Empire. In the elections of the same year the Social Democrats polled some four hundred and forty thousand votes.

Bismarck took alarm and three years later had a law passed to suppress socialistic agitation. It prohibited public meetings, publication of socialistic literature, and associations having for their purpose "the subversion of the public order." Two attempts made on the emperor's life on the part of anarchists furnished him with the pretext for these harsh measures. Although the socialist party contained at that time many anarchistic and revolutionary members, such drastic measures in no way checked the advance of socialism, but rather helped it; for the socialists were not slow to excite the masses by pointing to the tyranny of the government. However, the rapid growth of the movement must be attributed, at least in part, to the contempt for religion fostered by the antireligious Liberal agitation during the *Kulturkampf*.

449. Social Legislation. — Bismarck himself soon saw the futility of his measures and adopted a different policy. This was that the state, by social legislation, would gradually remove the real grievances of the workingmen and thus destroy the strength of socialism. The socialist leaders, he expected, would soon be without arguments and hence without followers.

He therefore advocated in the last decade of his public career a number of reforms which gradually developed into a complete system of social legislation, which has been imitated to some extent by other countries. Its principal feature was a threefold compulsory insurance of the workingmen against (1) accidents, (2) illness, (3) old age and incapacity to earn a livelihood. The necessary funds were obtained by assessing the workman a small percentage of his wages; but the employer and in some cases the state also contributed a share.

Thus, for instance, one kind of insurance provided an income for workmen incapacitated by sickness. Every wage earner was obliged to take out this insurance, and, to this end, was assessed about three per cent of his wages. The money obtained constituted about two thirds of the sick funds, the rest being made up by the employers. In case of illness the insured, as a rule, received free medical treatment and at least half of his daily wage. This kind of insurance was so widely introduced that the various sick funds paid annually about twenty-five million dollars in sick benefit money. The other systems of insurance worked in a similar manner. The success of these measures in relieving poverty and distress was very gratifying. Other acts against child labor, long hours of work, danger to the moral and physical health of the laborers followed one another during the last years of the nineteenth century.

Bismarck, however, does not deserve all the credit for these beneficial reforms. He was guided not so much by a sense of justice toward the weaker classes as by a desire to combat the spread of socialism. Hence he constantly wavered between real reform and repression, and many of the best features of Germany's social legislation were passed only after his dismissal from office. The party that most consistently worked for the uplift of the poorer class was the Catholic Center. Long before Bismarck took any interest in the matter, *Ketteler*, the great bishop of Mainz (§ 329), saw the evils of the factory system and maintained that it was the duty of the state to protect the work-

ingmen. When, after the Kulturkampf, the Catholics found time for constructive work, they, through their splendidly organized Center party, advocated most of the reform bills and secured the necessary majorities in the Reichstag.

450. Continued Growth of Socialism. — These reforms did not check the progress of socialism. Although for a short while the relative strength of the socialists diminished, after 1890 it grew rapidly and constantly and now bids fair to remain for a long time the most powerful political organization of Germany. In 1871, in the first elections held after the establishment of the Empire, the Social Democrats cast 124,000 votes, or about four per cent of the total; in 1890 they cast 1,427,000, or about twenty per cent; in 1912 they cast 4,329,000, or nearly thirty-five per cent of all the votes. During the same period their representatives in the Reichstag increased from two to one hundred and ten, and this figure would have been still higher if the arrangement of the electoral districts had not operated against them.

It must not be supposed, however, that all those who voted the socialist ticket were, strictly speaking, socialists.¹ A large element of vague discontent with the government and its autocratic character found expression in votes cast for socialist candidates. The other parties, with the exception of the Center, were slow in demanding certain reforms, as, for instance, the reapportionment of the electoral districts and the responsibility of the ministers to the parliament. And so the dissatisfied voters were driven into the arms of the socialists, especially in Protestant sections, where the Center party, on account of its Catholic character, could not gain any foothold.

A split in the socialist party has developed in recent years. In the nineties of the last century the socialists usually opposed all social legislation for the betterment of the working classes

¹ In 1912, for instance, when the socialists polled over four million votes, there were only 970,000 enrolled socialists, including over one hundred thousand women who had no votes.

on the ground that it merely delayed the general upheaval of society which was their goal. Some of their present leaders now advocate more coöperation with other parties and favor a gradual transformation by peaceful means. At the same time they attack some points in the Marxian system which older socialists considered essential, and propose a revision of that system. Bitter controversies in the socialistic camp have been the consequence of these differences of opinion. Yet despite these differences the numerous and well organized socialists had the principal share in the upheaval that swept away so many political features of old Germany after the Great War. In the new German republic they continued their gains. The elections of 1927 gave them over one third of all the votes cast.

TRADE AND COLONIES

451. Industrial Progress. — The old Germany was essentially an agricultural country, and its foreign trade was of little consequence. After 1880 the variety and output of German manufactures mounted by leaps and bounds, being encouraged by high protective tariffs, and the label "Made in Germany" began to appear in all parts of the globe. The German manufacturers acquired a reputation for skill and accuracy, and easily adapted themselves to the needs of various nations. Before 1900 German commerce surpassed that of all other nations, except England and the United States, although the natural resources of that country are in many respects inferior to those of its rivals. In the meantime agriculture was not neglected, but promoted by the application of the most scientific methods. Indeed, the intimate coöperation of the scientist and the business man is characteristic of Germany's economic progress.

452. Population and Colonies. — During this period the German population increased very rapidly. In 1815 the states included in the later German Empire had a population of 25 millions. In 1911 the number was almost 65 millions. This increase resulted for a time in a large German emigration, which

went mainly to the United States and South America.¹ Partly to secure commercial advantages for her citizens abroad, and partly in hopes of keeping future German emigrants under the German flag, the government adopted the policy of acquiring colonies, after a period of indifference.

Bismarck announced this plan in 1884. At that time Germany had no possessions outside Europe, and as she was late in entering the nineteenth century scramble for foreign possessions she had to be satisfied with what was left by her more fortunate rivals. Nevertheless, in Africa she acquired vast colonies on the Guinea coast and in the southwest and southeast. In the western Pacific she owned several valuable groups of islands. Shortly after 1890 she began acquiring concessions for railroads and mines in Asia Minor from the Turkish government, and this rich region, so long abandoned to barbarians, before the outbreak of the Great War promised to become one of the most important fields for European enterprise.

In 1898 another colonial field opened which seemed even more promising. When certain German subjects were murdered in China, the Germans demanded for "indemnity" a long lease on a valuable Chinese port, Kiaochow, with a large adjacent territory. From this center Germany acquired a "sphere of influence" in eastern China, in which German capitalists developed mines and built railroads, as the Russians were doing in the north and Frenchmen and Englishmen in the south. Germany was rapidly converting a rich section of China into a German dependency, when early in the Great War Japan expelled her from China.

As a colonizing nation Germany was not very successful. The government steadily lost money in its colonial undertakings.

¹ Of late years, emigration has declined. In the nineties, it was from 200,000 to 300,000 a year. Between 1910 and 1914, it was under 30,000 a year. The rapid development of German industry has furnished industrial opportunity at home. But after the War it rose again to about 60,000 a year.

Capitalists in small numbers went to Asia Minor and to China, but they did not go to Africa. The mass of German emigrants went to America, giving up German citizenship, chiefly because the tropical climate of the existing German colonies deterred the German emigrant. German colonies contained a population of some fourteen millions in 1911, but only 20,000 of these were white. It was often rumored that the government was anxious to obtain possessions in South America, where German emigrants might make their homes; and but for the Monroe Doctrine of the United States some attempts would perhaps have been made in this direction.

CHAPTER XXXIX

ITALY AFTER 1870

453. The constitution of Italy was essentially that given to Piedmont-Sardinia in 1848. It provided for a limited monarchy, somewhat like the French government of Louis Philippe, but more liberal. By custom, as in England and France, the ministries resigned when they no longer had a parliamentary majority. Local government and administrative courts were patterned after the French model.

At first high property qualifications were required for voters, but the electoral law of 1895 extended the franchise to all male citizens twenty-one years of age who could read and write. This still excluded about half the adult males. In 1912 universal manhood suffrage was introduced which at one stroke increased the number of voters from three to eight millions. The socialists profited most by this measure.

The government of united Italy abolished most of the old private schools conducted by religious orders, and replaced them by its own system of public education. Primary instruction became gratuitous and compulsory, with state supervision, but attendance was not well enforced. Although illiteracy declined somewhat, nearly one half of the people could not read and write. This condition was due partly to the poverty of many families, which forced them to send their children to work before they were twelve years old, partly to the quality of the teachers, whose salary was often below that of a workingman. Frequently, too, those teachers became the apostles of socialism and infidelity. The higher educational institutions were often excellent, and in many fields Italian scholars hold an eminent place.

At its birth the kingdom of Italy was far behind other states in material progress. Its proper task was to provide for education, to repress brigandage, and to develop the resources of the land. In all this something was achieved, but the government was hampered by its poverty and by the tremendous expenditures for military purposes; sometimes, too, by the greed and dishonesty of the higher officials.

Even with the crushing taxation, much of the time the government could hardly meet expenses. A fourth of the revenue went to pay the interest on the national debt, and a large part of the rest was swallowed by military expenses, leaving only a small part for the peaceful tasks of the government. To make ends meet the administration was driven to desperate financial expedients. Salt and tobacco were made government monopolies, the state ran a lottery, and taxation upon houses, land, and income was so exorbitant as seriously to hamper industry. Moreover, to relieve the financial stress, the Italian government resorted to the old expedient of annexing ecclesiastical property. The great Catholic institutions in Rome and elsewhere were partly or entirely deprived of their income. Although this policy seriously injured education and religion, the hope for financial prosperity failed to materialize. On the other hand, frequent cases of embezzlement of public funds, involving high officials and even ministers, became a scandal to the nation.

The economic distress led to political and socialistic agitation, which the government usually met by stern repressive legislation. Riots and bloodsheds and local revolutions often caused large parts of Italy to be in a "state of siege" or under martial law. Socialism in Italy, as in other countries, increased tremendously and became a real danger to existing institutions.

454. Colonial and Territorial Questions. — On account of the economic misery large numbers left Italy each year, mainly for North and South America. Partly in hope of retaining these emigrants as Italian citizens, the government took up the

policy of securing colonial dependencies. Attention was first turned to Tunis, but when France anticipated Italy there (§ 434), the latter acquired valuable territory on the Abyssinian coast in Northeast Africa (1885). From 1889 to 1896, indeed, Italy held a protectorate over all Abyssinia; but in the latter year an Italian army was destroyed in the interior, and Italian control was again reduced to the coast district of Eritrea. Up to the present time, however, emigration has not been directed in any considerable degree to this possession. In 1911-1912 Italy seized *Tripoli*, with its fertile coast, from Turkey, renaming it *Libya*.

For long one other territorial ambition was before the public, the so-called *Italia Irredenta* (Unredeemed Italy).

By this Italians understood the Austrian Trentino on the southern slopes of the Alps, with a population of about three hundred thousand souls, largely Italian in speech. There was also a desire to incorporate into modern Italy the eastern Adriatic coast, a part of the former Republic of Venice. Italy entered the Great War to secure these coveted territories.

455. The Roman Question. — There was another serious problem which divided public opinion of Italy into two hostile camps. We have seen how the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia created united Italy by annexing one after another of the small Italian states restored by the Congress of Vienna (§ 362-365). After 1860 only two provinces, Venetia and Rome with its surrounding territory, were still outside united Italy. The former was annexed in 1866 (§ 372); the latter fell into the hands of the Piedmontese in 1870.

The Piedmontese had hoped that after the departure, during the Franco-Prussian War, of the French garrison, which had been kept in Rome by Napoleon III, an insurrection would break out which would furnish them with a pretext for intervention and annexation. But no such outbreak occurred.

The defeat of Napoleon at Sedan freed the Italian government from all fear of France. Italian troops then marched upon

Rome and, on September 20, nearly three weeks after Sedan, they attacked the city of the popes. After a short skirmish with the small papal army of volunteers they entered Rome. In October the king ordered the people to vote for or against annexation to the Kingdom of Italy. Great care was taken to secure an imposing majority. Many papal sympathizers were put under arrest. On the other hand prisoners were released and "patriots" from all parts of Italy were imported to swell the number of voters. These measures were hardly necessary, for Pope Pius IX forbade all loyal Catholics to take part in the plebiscite. Thus the king easily obtained a large majority in favor of annexation. Later the seat of the Italian government was transferred to Rome. Pope Pius IX solemnly protested against these proceedings and neither he nor his successors ever acquiesced in the loss of temporal sovereignty.

On May 13, 1871, the Italian parliament enacted a measure, called the "Law of Guarantees," by which it professed to regulate the position of the Holy See. The pope was to retain the free use, but not the ownership, of the Vatican palace, to be permitted to send and receive ambassadors and to communicate freely with all parts of the world. An annual pension of \$645,000 was to indemnify him for the loss of revenues confiscated by the Italian government. Attacks on the person of the Holy Father were to be punished in the same manner as offenses against the king.

The popes never accepted this settlement. As a protest against the Italian usurpation, they refused to accept the pension or to leave the Vatican palace; for in doing so they would have been forced to traverse territory held illegally by the Italian government and to accept the protection of that government. According to international custom this would have amounted to a recognition of the Italian title to that territory. At first, too, the pope warned the Italian Catholics not to take part in national elections, but later that prohibition was relaxed to offset the increase of the socialistic and radical vote.

It is evident that the popes could not accept the Law of Guarantees. Such a law guaranteed little, as it had no more stability than the majority of an Italian parliament. It was, moreover, not a treaty such as is concluded between two independent powers; in effect the law treated the head of the Church as an Italian subject. The position of the Holy Father whose subjects are to be found in every nation cannot, even



THE VATICAN PALACE
(From an old engraving.)

in appearance, be made to depend on any nation. He must be sovereign. But sovereignty without territory does not exist. Hence he must have a state of his own, no matter how small.

At last in our own day the Italian government saw its mistake. As a result of negotiations between representatives of pope and king a treaty was concluded on February 11, 1929, which to the joy of all settles the Roman Question. The Law of Guarantees is formally abolished. The Holy See recognizes the city of Rome, of which for so many centuries it was the sole ruler, as the legitimate capital of the Kingdom of Italy. The Italian government on its part declares that the territory on which St. Peter's church and the Vatican stand, as well as the Vatican gardens and a few additional acres, is entirely outside its juris-

diction and subject to the pope alone. This territory is to be called the "Vatican City." The pope may freely send and receive foreign ambassadors and communicate without hindrance with any part of the world. The cardinals and certain other officials of the Holy See will not be subject to Italian law, and certain churches and buildings outside the Vatican City will enjoy the same privileges as the homes of ambassadors enjoy. Instead of the annual pension provided for in the Law of Guarantees, the payment of a lump sum will settle the financial question once and for all.

Great praise is due to the Italian government for its sense of justice, but above all we must admire the wisdom and moderation of the Holy See. By never accepting the law of 1871, it preserved its independence; on the other hand it demanded as little territory as possible so as not to deprive the Italian people of their cherished unity and of Rome their national capital.

CHAPTER XL

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

456. Origin of the Dual Monarchy. — After the revolution of 1848 (§ 348-351) a reaction set in against the democratic and revolutionary tendencies of the age. This reaction lasted until 1859, the year of the unfortunate Italian war with Napoleon III (§ 362). Although the social reforms, the abolition of the feudal burdens of the peasantry and of the privileges of the nobility were not undone, a determined effort was made to curtail local government and to centralize all political power in the government at Vienna. Especially between 1850 and 1860 the young Emperor Francis Joseph and his leading statesmen seemed to know only one remedy for the many ills of the Danubian monarchy, to restrict as far as possible the rights of the various nationalities. The government made itself especially odious by its attacks upon the various languages of Austria-Hungary and its attempts to Germanize the schools, the press, and the courts.

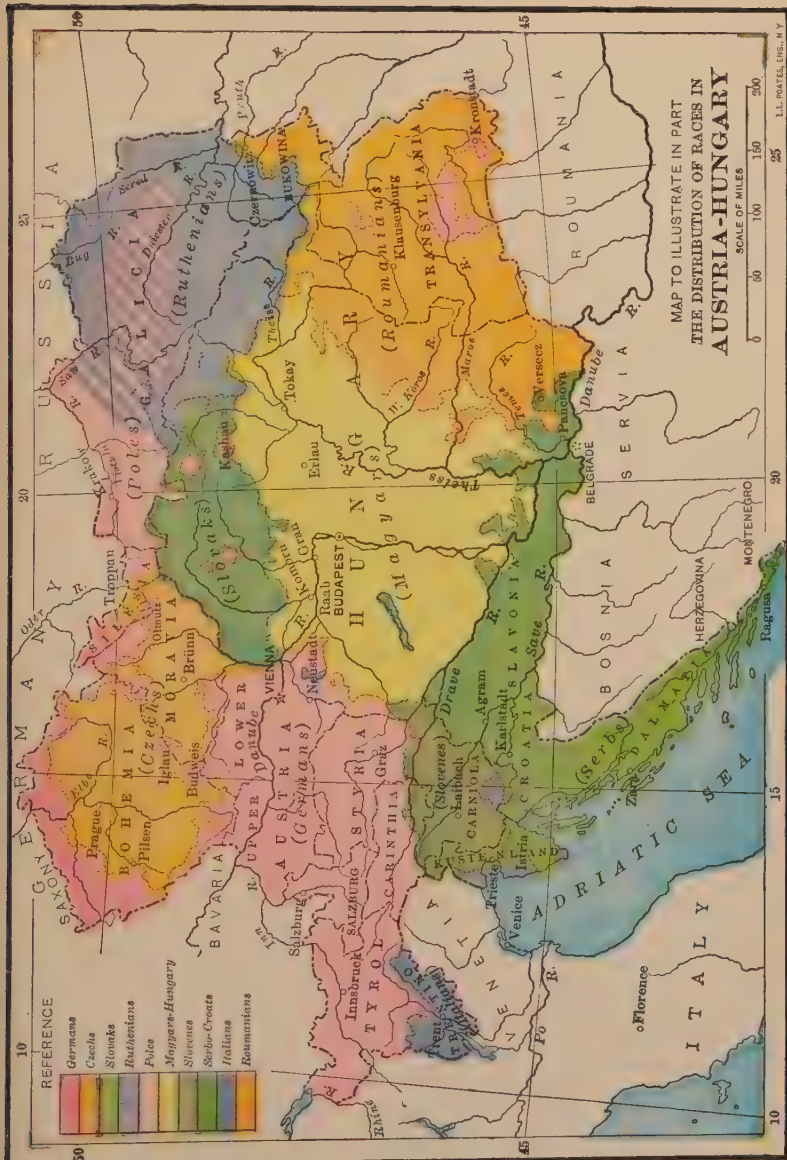
The defeat of 1859, however, revealed widespread dissatisfaction, particularly among the Bohemians and Hungarians, and the emperor saw that he must conciliate these provinces. Liberal reforms were begun, and a sort of parliamentary system of government was adopted. But Hungary remained sullen, and after the next Austrian defeat at Sadowa (§ 372) it became necessary to satisfy that country at any cost. The emperor and Ferencz Deák, the Hungarian leader, arranged a compact (1867), which was then ratified by the Hungarian and Austrian parliaments. This compact formed, until 1919, the constitution of Austria-Hungary.

457. Constitution of the Empire. — In this federation of two states, each one had its own constitution, its own parliament, its own system of law and local government. The two had the same monarch, who was emperor in Austria and king in Hungary, and whose powers differed in the two states. Moreover, each state had its own ministry, but there was a common minister of war, of finance, and of foreign relations. There was a common army, but besides this each state maintained a kind of territorial reserve (the Landwehr in Austria and the Honved in Hungary).

There was also a curious kind of common parliament, the *Delegations*. In reality this consisted of two committees of sixty members each, the one chosen by the Austrian parliament, the other by the Hungarian. They met one year at Vienna, the next at Budapest. If the two bodies disagreed, equal numbers from the two met and settled the matter by vote, without debate. The chief purpose of these Delegations was to supervise and control the work of the three common ministers.

458. The Question of Nationality. — Austria-Hungary was rightly described as a “tangle of races and a Babel of tongues.” Eleven languages, besides numerous dialects, were spoken within her boundaries. At the opening of the Austrian parliament the official oath was administered in eight languages. Nearly half the population were Slavs, broken up, however, into many branches, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Slovenians, Poles, Ruthenians. A fourth was German, a fifth Magyar, and the rest were Italians, Roumanians, and others. If we regard the Slav subdivisions, the Germans were more numerous than any other people. They numbered eleven and a third millions. The Magyars came next with nine millions. Of the Slavs, the Czechs (Bohemians) led with nearly six millions.

After the compact of 1867 the Germans were the ruling nationality in the *Austrian* half of the dual monarchy. Though they were inferior to the Slavs in numbers, they controlled the parliament. The unequally distributed franchise gave them an unduly large representation, and quarrels weakened their



Slavic opponents. In spite of the confusion in the demands of the various parties, two distinct political tendencies appeared, one advocating further centralization of power in the government at Vienna, the other a reorganization of Slavic Austria after the model of the compact with Hungary. The former was the favorite program of the Germans and the smaller Slavic races, while the latter was the ideal of the larger Slav peoples, especially the Czechs and the Poles. The Emperor Francis wavered between these two extremes, and thus the politics of Austria presented the spectacle of great instability and confusion.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the parties striving for greater independence from Vienna were constantly gaining ground. The Czechs of Bohemia especially were growing rapidly in political strength. They were as prosperous and cultured as the German provinces, and demanded, if not complete separation from the Hapsburgs, at least a position in the empire similar to that of the Hungarians. In this desire they were vehemently opposed by the German inhabitants of Bohemia, who formed about one third of the population of that province. This faction was warmly supported in its opposition by the Germans in the other Austrian provinces, and even by its kinsmen in the German Empire. These were unwilling to abandon their fellow Germans in Bohemia to Czech rule.

Many attempts were made by the Vienna government to meet the wishes of one party or the other, but no satisfactory solution was found for the problem of nationality in Bohemia. On the contrary, all such measures provoked fierce hostility on the part of the less favored group. In revenge, the slighted party usually resorted to obstruction in parliament. Violent scenes in that body frequently occurred, and many sessions ended without having accomplished anything. In 1907 full and equal manhood suffrage for all local and parliamentary elections was introduced. The Czechs thereby gained considerably, and the Germans in Bohemia became so intimidated that some of

them openly expressed a desire for annexation to the German Empire.

459. In Hungary similar difficulties existed between the ruling Magyar nation and the scattered Slavic peoples. Until the outbreak of the Great War, however, the Magyars were more successful in maintaining their ascendancy than the Germans in Austria. The Croats alone were allowed certain privileges. Elsewhere in Hungary the Magyars, despite violent protests, slowly but effectively imposed their language and law upon the various Slav fragments. Representation in the legislature at Budapest was so apportioned as to give the vast majority of the seats to Magyar constituencies, though the other nationalities made up half the population.

Universal manhood suffrage was never adopted. That reform, together with greater safeguards for the language and customs of the non-Magyar elements, formed the chief desires of the Hungarian Slavs. When influential Magyar leaders began to recognize the justice of these claims, there appeared some hope for a better understanding in the future. But the Great War and its disastrous results for the Hapsburg monarchy has taken the task of solving these problems out of the hands of the Austrian and Hungarian statesmen.

One difficulty will always remain in this "whirlpool of Europe." An exact division of territory according to the nations inhabiting it proves well-nigh impossible. These nations everywhere overlap. Natural boundaries, like mountains or rivers, in most cases fail to divide one people from another. Moreover, the natural resources of the lands that formerly made up the Austrian Empire are so distributed that the various peoples depend on one another for their food and manufactures. The toleration of national minorities is still far from an accomplished fact in many of the new states of Europe.

460. Foreign Relations of the Empire. — In foreign policy Austria, after 1866, was entirely excluded from Italy and Germany. She turned, therefore, toward her neighbors to the

south. At first, markets in the Balkan territory and the exploitation of these hitherto undeveloped regions were the chief objects of Austrian statesmen. But a complicated situation arose after the formation of the independent Balkan states, partly inhabited by people of the same nationality as those that comprised so many of the subjects of Austria-Hungary. We shall have to study this question later, in connection with the Near Eastern problem (§§ 513-515).

CHAPTER XLI

THE SMALLER STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE¹

461. The Smaller States. — Besides the great states, the usual map of western Europe before the Great War showed fourteen² small states. All these, except Switzerland and Portugal, are constitutional monarchies. Six — the Slav and Greek states — are in the southeast of Europe in the Balkan region. The other eight belong to western Europe and claim a brief notice at this point.

Of these small states of western Europe, two are in the south, in the Iberian Peninsula, three are in the north, in the Scandinavian peninsulas; two lie at the mouth of the Rhine, and the remaining one at its source. Four of the eight — Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland — formerly ranked as great powers.

SPAIN

462. Restoration of the Bourbons. — We saw how Napoleon broke into Spain, overthrew the old monarchy, and imposed upon the Spaniards a foreign ruler, his own brother Joseph (§ 268). The Spanish people, however, would not brook this humiliation. Aided by the English under Wellington, they fought a war of independence (1809–1813), resulting in the downfall of the Bonaparte régime. While the patriots were shedding their blood in defense of their faith, their country, and their legitimate king, the liberals, that is, those politicians

¹ It is suggested that, if time presses, this chapter be merely read, and talked over, without much attempt to fix details.

² There are also four or five others, like the little republic of San Marino in the Apennines, so small that few maps take notice of them.

who were infected with the ideas of the French Revolution, drew up a constitution (1812). This constitution, resembling in many points the French constitution of 1791, was far from embodying the wishes of the majority of Spaniards.

When King Ferdinand VII returned after the fall of Napoleon he first accepted, then rejected it, but in 1820 a revolt in the army forced him to restore it. The Holy Alliance, however, was determined to wipe away every vestige of the Revolution. A French army at its behest marched into Spain, and abolished the constitution (1823). The king now, by relentless persecution, took revenge on the "Constitutionists," as the Spanish liberals were called. Although public sentiment also condemned the Constitution of 1812, its abrogation failed to restore peace. The defeated liberals continued to plot in the dark against the government, until their chance came for open revolution. It so happened, too, that the revolutionary movement became intertwined with the question of succession to the throne.

463. From 1833 to 1873. — As Ferdinand had no son, his successor, according to the Spanish law, was to be his brother, *Don Carlos*. But the king, under the influence of his ambitious wife, *Cristina*, arbitrarily changed the law of succession and willed the crown to his daughter *Isabella*. At his death (1833) Isabella was a child of three years. During the minority of the queen the regency was to be in the hands of her mother, *Cristina*. The Catholics and all opponents of the Constitution of 1812 rallied around Don Carlos ("Charles V"), while the regent allied herself with the liberals. A seven years' war (1833-1839) was waged between the *Carlistas* and the *Cristinos*, marked by great bitterness and frightful deeds of cruelty on both sides. Gradually the *Cristinos* became masters of the situation. Don Carlos left Spain, and the northern provinces, the strongholds of the *Carlists*, came to an understanding with the regent.

In the meantime, however, the liberals themselves had split into two parties, the *Moderates* and the *Radicals*. Both were

hostile to the Catholic Church, showing themselves on this point true disciples of the French models, but utterly at variance with the vast majority of their own countrymen. In 1840 the Radicals got control, deposed Cristina, and put in her place one of their leaders, General Espartero. Then came a period of military insurrections led by rival generals, after the fashion of the South American republics. Usually the rebels succeeded for the time. There was not much bloodshed, so that a writer wittily remarked, "Revolution in Spain has become a fine art." Confiscation of church property and its public sale, interrupted by more atrocious acts, such as the burning of monasteries and the slaying of their inmates, became the program of these Spanish Jacobins.

The peace-loving element was weakened by divisions in its own ranks over the question of succession and that of a new constitution. However, when the young queen Isabella was declared of age, she was generally recognized, and under the Moderate ministry of Narváez the country enjoyed a spell of tranquillity. A concordat, regulating ecclesiastical affairs, was concluded with the Holy See in 1851.

A new revolution broke out seventeen years later which deposed the Bourbon dynasty in the person of Queen Isabella. The Spaniards then cast about for a new ruler. Leopold of Hohenzollern at first accepted the candidature, but soon withdrew on account of the protest of the French government (§ 374). Prince Amadeo of Savoy was elected, but finding it impossible to conciliate the warring factions, he abdicated.

464. The Short-lived Republic.—In 1873, the Cortes (Spanish parliament), which was made up chiefly of liberals, declared a republic. During its two years' life it had four presidents. The Carlists arose again, in favor of Don Carlos' son. They gained substantial successes, but the aristocracy and the financial interests effected a restoration of the female line of the Bourbons, and the crown was bestowed on Isabella's son, Alfonso XII. He landed in Spain in 1875. The Carlists

were soon suppressed. Then the leaders of the Moderates and of those liberals who were willing to support the government came to an agreement. One result of this constitution was a curious arrangement, according to which the leaders of the parties supporting the government took turns in filling the ministerial posts. Alfonso XII died in 1885 and was followed by his posthumous son, Alfonso XIII.

465. Organization of the Government. — The government of Spain until recently was regulated by the constitution of 1876. Although Spain is the result of a coalition of several states (Aragón, Castilla, Navarra, León, etc.), these old historical states have been wiped out. Their place is taken by forty-nine provinces, which correspond to the French departments. Likewise in imitation of France, the government is strictly centralized. The executive is vested in the king and a responsible ministry. The legislature — the Cortes — consists of two houses, a Senate made up partly of life members, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal manhood suffrage, for a term of five years. Local government is more developed than in France, each province and commune having its own elected assembly and even, except in some large towns, its elected executive. These local bodies are dependent on the central government, but in practice there is little interference.

The political parties of Spain until the radical changes after the World War were divided into three groups. The *Right*, or the old Carlists, are the defenders of old Spanish traditions and determined opponents of liberalism. Since they do not support the present ruling dynasty but merely tolerate it, they are never represented in the ministry. The so-called *loyal* parties are the second group and take their turn in office. One of them, the Liberal-Conservatives, for many years under its able leader Antonio Maura, is sincerely Catholic and works for reform under the present dynasty. The rest of the practical Catholics have cast their lot with the Right. Another loyalist party, the Liberal Democrats, takes its cue from modern France,

aims at destroying the influence of the Church on education, and opposes in general the union of Church and State. The *Left*, finally, consists of republicans and socialists of all shades. Their aims were made clear in the hideous riots of 1909 in Barcelona, where they murdered persons consecrated to God and burned schools and monasteries. One of their leaders, Francesco Ferrer, was seized and shot by the government, whereupon hysterical sympathizers in Europe and America proclaimed him a "martyr of liberty."¹

466. Recent Progress. — Until 1881 the energies of the nation were wasted in constant revolutionary disorders. Since then there has been a period of comparative tranquillity, during which Spain has grown in wealth. Taxation was reformed and various industries were encouraged. As a result trade has mounted, manufactures have developed, railroads and telegraphs have tripled. Population increased from fifteen millions in 1857 to nearly twenty millions in 1910. Above all, peasant landowners began to increase rapidly.

Modern Spain is far from being a dying nation, as prejudiced writers sometimes try to make us believe. She is a reviving nation. The increase in prosperity, too, seems to have calmed the revolutionary fever, for revolutions would be too costly. Still the outlook is not entirely reassuring. A certain amount of ill feeling between the different provinces still survives the former civil strife. Recently, too, socialistic and anarchistic tendencies have grown alarmingly. It must be admitted that there are reasons for the workmen to rail at the wealthier classes. Among the latter are numerous representatives of an older order of things who have not as yet realized their responsibilities toward the dependent classes. Yet this does not fully explain the increasing unrest. Its causes lie deeper — in the spread of irreligion.

¹For the recent attempt to cure the ills of Spanish political life by a dictatorship see § 589.

467. Religion and Education To-day. — The religion of the Spanish people is Catholic. According to the constitution it is the religion of the state and as such the only religion which is officially recognized. In practice, however, there is a great deal of religious freedom. Non-Catholics may erect their own buildings for worship, provided they avoid externally certain characteristics of Catholic churches. Civil marriage exists for non-Catholics. Freedom of the press has been so liberally granted and so extensively abused that many ascribe to it the growing religious indifference of the city population.

On the other hand by character and tradition the Spaniards are passionately attached to the Catholic Church. The long struggle against the Mohammedans for religious and national unity left its impress upon the Spanish character. The constant attempts of the Moors and Jews (§ 74) to undermine religion and nationality made Spaniards extremely sensitive to the purity of their faith and to all movements endangering its unity. In the nineteenth century, however, because of disunion among the Catholics and the systematic work of a few determined infidels and Freemasons, the machinery of government has generally been in the hands of anti-Catholics. This and the activity of the irreligious press have been the most important factors in strengthening the influence of infidelity.



THE GIRALDA AND CATHEDRAL,
SEVILLA, SPAIN

The Giralda is the tower of the cathedral, a good example of Moorish architecture. This was built about 1190.

The influence of these forces has been most conspicuous in the field of education and legislation. The aims of the Spanish anti-Catholics may be summarized under two heads: (1) complete separation of Church and State after the example of France, (2) the exclusion of religion from the schools. The first aim has not yet been achieved, but in the field of education the enemies of religion have scored notable successes. The government has established a complete system of state schools from which religious orders, which formerly had entire control of education, have been excluded. Though these schools are not officially hostile to religion, they are often so in practice. Besides these state schools there is still a large number of flourishing Catholic private schools, and the real wishes of the Spanish people appear from the fact that fully two thirds of the pupils prefer them to the government institutions. The struggle between the forces of irreligion and the Catholic Church is still being waged with great bitterness.

468. Activity in Social Reforms. — In the second half of the nineteenth century the rapid spread of socialism and anarchism among the working classes induced the Catholics to devote themselves energetically to the social problem. Numerous workingmen's associations, savings banks, and farmers' unions under Catholic auspices testify to the earnestness with which Catholic Spain has undertaken to solve this most pressing of modern problems. Charity, always a beautiful characteristic of Spain, is flourishing more than ever. The state, on account of its perpetual financial embarrassments, has done less than in many other countries; but private enterprise and genuine Christian charity have worked wonders in relieving distress and misery of every kind. This enlightened and well-organized activity is one of the most hopeful signs for the future of Spain.

469. Loss of Colonies. — In 1898 Spain ceased to be a colonial power on a large scale. We have seen how, between 1810 and 1830, she lost her vast colonial possessions in South, Central,

and North America (§ 295). There were still left to her Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. A long rebellion in Cuba, often aided by private American interests, brought about the interference of the United States. The Spanish-American War of 1898 resulted in the surrender of all the remaining Spanish colonies, except a few neighboring islands and some unimportant districts in northwest Africa.

Though Spain thereby lost her influence in international affairs, she has not suffered financially. The colonies had long ceased to be a source of revenue to the mother country, as the constant revolutions with their drain upon the resources of Spain rather added to the enormous debt under which that country is groaning. In addition she received \$20,000,000 from the United States.

Now that Spain is rid of all responsibility for her unruly foreign dependencies she may spend her money more profitably at home. But to achieve real improvement at home she has to purify her administrative bodies, for under the liberal and radical régime, corruption in the highest quarters has too often disgraced Spanish politics.

PORTUGAL

470. Historical Survey. — When Napoleon I seized Portugal in 1807, the royal family of Braganza fled to Brazil, then a Portuguese colony. After the French were driven out by Wellington, the English, in the absence of the king, practically ruled the country and continued to do so even after the overthrow of Napoleon. But the English representative, Lord Beresford, made himself so hated by his harsh and arbitrary rule that, in 1820, a revolution broke out, organized chiefly by sympathizers with the ideas of the French Revolution. They recalled King John from Brazil, who returned, leaving his son Pedro to rule Brazil. The radicals had in the meantime drawn up a constitution after the model of the Spanish constitution of 1812, and forced the king to accept it. The Brazilians were so indignant

at this action of the radicals and the weakness of the king that they declared their independence.¹

For many years Portugal was distracted by revolutions and by civil wars between various claimants of the crown. As in Spain, one side stood for reaction, the other for radical reform in Church and State. Since the latter party was controlled chiefly by Freemasons and followers of Rousseau, the better section of the Catholics largely threw in their lot with the former. But the radical element gradually prevailed, and then carried out its usual program of persecution, confiscation of church property, expulsion of religious orders, and complete subjection of the priests and bishops to the state. As a consequence a servile clergy gradually filled most of the important ecclesiastical offices. The religious instruction of the people was woefully neglected, while the ranks of the socialists and anarchists were swelled by fallen-away Catholics. In the second half of the nineteenth century conditions improved somewhat, and, chiefly through the efforts of Pope Leo XIII, some measure of justice was meted out to the Church.

Then suddenly things changed for the worse again. In 1908 King Carlos and his oldest son were murdered in the streets of Lisbon by the agents of an organized conspiracy. The succession to the throne devolved upon his second son, Manuel, who, after a brief reign, was overthrown by a new revolution in 1910. The successful conspirators proclaimed a republic.

471. Social Conditions in Portugal. — The republic at once set on foot a barbarous persecution of the Church. The whole educational system was remodeled after the example of the recent French legislation on that subject (§ 438). No sign of religion was tolerated in the schools. Important social and charitable works were destroyed if they were even remotely

¹ Brazil was an independent empire until 1889. In that year Pedro II (1831-1889) was forced to abdicate. The Brazilians then proclaimed the republic. Pedro II's empire was the last monarchy on the American continent.

connected with the Church. The widespread apathy and religious ignorance of the masses made the success of these Portuguese Jacobins possible, but the republic is by no means securely established. The material prosperity with which the radicals deluded the masses has failed to appear under the republican régime. Hence discontent is growing among the working classes. In spite of the extensive robbery of church property, the national finances are in a deplorable condition. Lack of employment, low wages, and socialistic agitation have caused distress and frequent riots. Compulsory education exists, but in practice the poverty of the schools and of the people is so great that very few attend schools. Three fourths of the nation are still illiterate.

The Portuguese colonies are still of considerable size (in the Cape Verde Islands, in Africa, and in India), but they do not pay expenses, and it is doubtful whether so poor a country can afford to keep them. Their administration, too, is inefficient and corrupt. The shortsighted anti-Catholic policy of the new republican government drove many missionaries out of the colonies, though they were the mainstay of progress and civilization there.

BELGIUM

472. The constitution of Belgium is still that of 1831, when this little country gained its independence (§ 309). The legislature has the usual Senate and House of Deputies. The Belgian king is no mere figurehead, but, through his extensive nominating power, exerts considerable influence. The Belgians chose for their sovereign Leopold, a Protestant German prince. He understood his people and never interfered with their rights. His successor, the Catholic Leopold II, was a shrewd business man who did much to promote the industrial growth of Belgium. The present king, Albert, is an excellent constitutional monarch.

The right to vote in 1831 was given only to those who paid a considerable tax. When the revolution of 1848 was radically changing so many governments, Belgium only slightly lowered

the qualification for voting. For nearly fifty years there was no further change, while large city populations were growing up, with masses of artisans who had no vote. In the eighties only one man in ten could vote. Agitation began for further extension of the franchise. The proposal to that effect secured little support in parliament, and bill after bill was voted down. The agitation grew more intense, chiefly on the part of the Socialists. The Catholic party, then in power, brought about a revision of the constitution. In 1893 manhood suffrage was adopted, but with restrictions under a system of plural voting. Each man at the age of twenty-five had one vote; two votes were given to each man over thirty-five years old, if he possessed a certain amount of wealth, or if he was the head of a family with children; and three votes were granted to those who possessed certain university degrees or who had held certain important public offices. This system lasted until 1919, when universal and equal suffrage was introduced, to be followed, two years later, by woman suffrage.

473. Parties and Social Legislation. — The population of Belgium is almost entirely Catholic, but, as everywhere, there are many who are Catholics in name only. These "Liberals" at the time of the struggle for independence against Holland united with the loyal Catholics in defense of their common cause. After independence was won the Liberals, for the next fifty years, nearly always controlled the government. They were recruited chiefly from the wealthier classes, and since the franchise was restricted to those classes, their victory at the polls was a comparatively easy matter.

At first they were a moderate party, most of them sincerely wishing toleration and liberty for all. But gradually an extreme element within the party, mainly Freemasons, gained predominance and soon betrayed its true character by anti-Catholic legislation. The chief object of their attacks was the school. The Belgian school law of 1842 guaranteed the religious character of all primary schools, even those maintained by the

work. And in most of these institutions teaching and teachers were thoroughly Catholic. By various means, however, the influence of religion upon the party was unpropitiously diminished. For a long time Catholic preachers were made and greatly respected, and the Liberals gave battle with a very able hand. In 1874 a school law passed all religious instruction from the state schools.



Montana State Capitol Building.

The Liberals had learned the lesson. The school question brought the Catholics to the importance of religious education. Their politicians sought success. In one year they elected one-hundred thousand Catholic priest-representatives, and the state schools had large numbers of their pupils. It was seen the schoolhouses were actually empty. The denominations were organized and engaged in public movements, and they had every reason to believe the influence of the clergy upon the people had been a real one.

In 1884 the voters pronounced judgment upon the Liberal policy. In the parliamentary elections of that year the Liberals

suffered an overwhelming defeat from which they never recovered. Only two Liberal candidates were returned to parliament. The Catholics gained control of the parliament and the ministry and held it for many years. The iniquitous school law was, of course, at once repealed. Otherwise, however, they wisely avoided going to extremes. "We shall surprise the world by our moderation," said one of their leaders. They did much more.

They gave the country a government by capable and honest men, who energetically promoted the progress and prosperity of the land and undertook vast public improvements. In spite of all this, the burden of taxation was so light that the administration of the little state has become a model for other and larger ones. Education, too, has correspondingly progressed, and while the opinions of others have been scrupulously respected, religious and Catholic education is amply provided for. The far-famed Catholic university of Louvain has given to the party in power splendid leaders, and to the country at large scholarly and practical men, capable of solving problems as they arise.

For many years Belgium has ranked among the leading industrial nations. Now the population is seven and three fourths millions, more than double that of 1815. There are about 670 people to the square mile (which is more than sixteen times the relative population of the United States). These conditions have produced a certain amount of unrest among the masses. Socialism has found many adherents. Irreligion and contempt of the laws of morality have grown, especially in the large cities.

The enlightened statesmen at the helm have done much to remedy social evils. The extension of the franchise to all male citizens is their work. They have, moreover, enacted a series of excellent laws to protect workingmen. Just before the Great War (1914) the school laws were completely revised, dealing in an admirable manner with the question of religious education, without hurting the feelings of others.

For Belgium's colonial enterprise see § 523.

HOLLAND

474. Government. — The royal family of Holland belongs to the ancient House of Orange ¹ (§ 70) and the people are loyally devoted to it. The upper house of the Estates General (the parliament keeps that ancient name) is chosen by the local legislatures of the various provinces for nine years, one third going out each third year. This plan of partial removal of a branch of the legislature has been adopted in many countries, as in the Senate of the United States, but it seems to have originated in Holland some centuries ago. The House of Representatives (lower house of the Estates General) is elected directly by the people, and it wields far more power than the upper house.

In 1896 the suffrage was extended to about three fourths of the adult males, excluding paupers and unmarried sons in poor families. In 1917 universal equal suffrage was adopted. The monarch exercises power through ministers. Until recently the government has been of the Prussian rather than of the English type; but during the long minority of the girl queen the ministries began to be truly responsible to the parliament, of which they may be members.

475. Wealth of Holland. — The country is rich and prosperous. The population (nearly seven and one half millions in 1930) in the last century has grown even faster than that of Belgium. Between one fourth and one third are Catholics, and there is complete religious freedom. The colonial empire, despite great losses in the Napoleonic wars, is still vast and productive. It comprises the *Dutch East Indies*, that is, the islands of Sumatra, Java, Celebes, parts of Borneo and of New Guinea, and the Moluccas, the *Dutch West Indies*, and Dutch Guiana in South America.

THE SWISS REPUBLIC

476. Local Government. — The Congress of Vienna restored to Switzerland all territory lost during the Napoleonic wars,

¹ The present sovereign is Queen Wilhelmina, who came to the throne in 1890 at ten years of age.

but left the cantons in a loose confederacy, not unlike that of the United States from 1776 to 1789. The original "Forest Cantons" were pure democracies. They governed themselves (as some still do), not by elected representatives, but by folkmoets — primary assemblies of all the voters who pass upon all laws directly, without the intervention of a legislature.

On the other hand, in Bern, Zürich, and some other rich "City Cantons" a few families had complete possession of the government, so that the rule was rather that of a hereditary oligarchy. In 1830, after the success of the French "July Revolution," popular risings established liberal local constitutions in those city cantons. However, political power fell into the hands of an extreme Radical party.

477. Religious Strife. — The Radical party that had gained control over the city cantons was anti-Catholic, while the old democratic cantons were staunchly Catholic. Wherever the Radical party was in control it began the usual remorseless warfare against the clergy, the monasteries, and ecclesiastical rights. In a conference in 1834 the Radicals openly avowed their intention to fetter the Church in the whole country. A new federal constitution was to give them the legal power to interfere in the purely Catholic cantons.

The struggle was especially bitter in the canton of Aargau, where the Radicals came into power in 1840. In spite of the protests of the people they suppressed the monasteries (1841), though their existence was guaranteed by the old constitution. In the meantime in the neighboring canton of Luzern the conservative and Catholic party gained the upper hand in the elections. To overthrow their administration, Aargau and Bern organized armed raids, but the people of Luzern routed the raiders. This defeat, however, did not end the attacks upon the Catholic cantons. Hence, in order to protect themselves and their religious liberty seven Catholic cantons formed a league among themselves — the *Sonderbund*.

478. The Sonderbund War. — In 1847 the Federal Diet, now controlled by the Radicals, ordered the Sonderbund to dissolve. The seven cantons refused and withdrew their delegates from the Diet, and civil war began — seven cantons against fifteen. Help from Austria, on which the Sonderbund relied, was not forthcoming. Their opponents, encouraged by England, acted with great rapidity and decision. In less than three weeks the Sonderbund was crushed. The victors put a heavy indemnity on the vanquished, expelled the Jesuits from the Catholic cantons, and suppressed about fifty monasteries. Moreover, they remodeled the constitutions of the seven cantons in such a manner as to put the power into the hands of the Radicals. Then they proceeded to revise the national constitution.

479. The Swiss Constitution. — By the new constitution of 1848, which with slight amendments is that of to-day, the confederacy became a federal republic, after the model of the United States. The Federal Assembly (national legislature) has two houses: the *Council of the States* (Ständerath) and the *National Council*. The first consists of two delegates from each of the twenty-two cantons (cantons in the federal scheme correspond very closely to the American states). They are chosen either by the cantonal legislatures or by the people directly. Their term of office also is determined by their respective cantons. This Council of States represents the principle of state rights, and, in form, is a survival of the old Diet.

The other provisions of the constitution are new and tend toward nationalism. The lower house of the legislature, the National Council, represents the people. The members are elected in single districts, like our own representatives, for a term of three years. The franchise is given to all males over twenty years of age.

The national executive is not a single president, but a committee of seven (the Federal Council) whose members are chosen by the Federal Assembly in joint session. One of the seven, especially named for the purpose, is President of the Council;

but he possesses only a little more authority than the other six. Each of the seven members is head of a department. Although, as in the United States, they cannot be members of the legislature, they take part in its sessions and exert a great influence on its proceedings. The president serves only one year, but after that he usually remains a member of the Federal Council. In fact, it is custom to reëlect all the members continually for a long period of time.

There is also a federal judiciary, chosen by the Assembly; but, as is usual in foreign countries, it lacks the power of our American Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional. It is bound to accept as valid all acts of the legislature.

Each canton, like each of our own states, has its own constitution and government, which are democratic in character. A few small cantons preserve the old folkmoot, or primary assembly. In the others the legislature consists of one chamber, chosen by manhood suffrage. In all there are executive councils.

480. Direct Legislation. — As a rule, even in democratic countries, the people govern themselves only indirectly. They choose representatives (legislators and governors), and these few delegated individuals are the ones who actually make the laws and carry on the government. Writers on democratic government, however, frequently demand that some way be found for the people themselves to take a direct part in law-making. Switzerland was the first country to show how this may be done. The two Swiss devices for this end are known as the *referendum* and the popular *initiative*.

The referendum is the older. It consists in referring laws that have been passed by the legislature to a popular vote. This practice really originated in America. The state of Massachusetts submitted its first constitution to a popular vote in 1778 and 1780, and there were a few other applications of this principle in America at about the same time. Some of the constitutions of the French Revolution were likewise submitted, and the plebiscites of the two Napoleons were in principle such a

referendum. In America, after 1820, nearly all our states used the referendum on the adoption of new constitutions or amendments; and sometimes other important measures are submitted to popular decision, in both city and state government. This is compulsory in certain states if a sufficient number of voters sign a petition for the referendum.

But Switzerland taught the world how to go farther than this. By the constitution of 1848 all constitutional amendments, both national and cantonal, must be submitted to popular vote, and in some cantons this compulsory referendum is extended to all laws. By an amendment of 1874 a certain number of voters, by petition, may require the submission of any federal law to popular vote.¹ This last provision is known as the optional referendum, and it has been in use in cantonal legislation for the greater part of the nineteenth century.

The popular initiative is a purely Swiss development. It consists in the right of a certain number of voters, by petition, to frame a new bill, or even an amendment to the constitution, and have it submitted to a popular vote. A little before 1848



International Newsreel

THE FOLKMOOT OF A SWISS CANTON

The Swiss people, in some cantons, still observe this ancient custom of assembling to participate in legislation.

¹ Between 1874 and 1906 twenty-nine federal laws were thus submitted to popular vote, and in nineteen cases the decision of the people went against the legislature.

this device began to be regarded as the natural complement of the referendum. Four cantons had already made use of it, and the new constitution of 1848 required all cantons to permit the initiative in constitutional amendments, if a majority of the voters signed the petition.

The cantons themselves rapidly adopted more generous measures than this; and, by 1870, in nearly all of them a small number of voters could put any law they desired before the voters. In 1891, by amendment, this principle was adopted for the national government. A petition of fifty thousand voters may frame a law, which must then be submitted to a national vote. Thus the people can act directly, without the intervention of the legislature. They can frame bills by initiative and reject or adopt those passed by the legislature.

These devices and their practical working have excited a great deal of interest in other countries. Recently many of our more progressive states have introduced them and carried them even further than the Swiss people. So far, however, we have not applied them to national issues. It is objected that the facility of changing the constitution would introduce an element of instability into our national life, which, in time, would only work to the detriment of the people. The initiative and the referendum work satisfactorily in Switzerland, but then the problems of a small country are relatively simple, and are easily grasped by an intelligent people. The Swiss, moreover, have had centuries of experience in independent government, and tradition has taught them valuable lessons, which make them naturally a cautious and conservative people.

481. Importance of Switzerland.—Switzerland fills a far larger place in history and human interest than her territory fills on the map. Since 1848 the people have been more closely united than before, and in political contests the defeated parties have ceased to look across the boundaries for allies.

In the last half century Switzerland has made amazing progress industrially and commercially, though the natural re-

sources of the country are extremely small. To-day she is one of the most progressive countries in the world. The primary schools are perhaps the best in Europe. Few other nations have so little illiteracy. Wealth and comfort are more evenly diffused than elsewhere. The population increases steadily, and numbers nearly four millions. The army system is a universal militia service, lighter than anywhere else in Europe.

Two thirds of the people speak German, the rest chiefly French and Italian, but French and Italian, as well as German, are official languages, and the debates in the Federal Assembly are carried on in all three tongues. Nationality, which elsewhere threatens to disintegrate nations, works no harm in Switzerland and has practically no influence on political controversies. Switzerland thus furnishes a practical proof that a well-organized and happy commonwealth is possible without unity of nationality or language. The Swiss are intensely patriotic, while at the same time they have, through their sincere impartiality, gained the respect and good will of their powerful neighbors. Says President Lowell, of Harvard, "The Swiss Confederation, on the whole, is the most successful democracy in the world."

DENMARK

482. To 1866. — In the later Middle Ages, Denmark was governed by a king elected by the nobles, who distracted the country by their constant fighting. In 1660, after a shameful defeat by Sweden, Denmark became a hereditary and absolute monarchy. In 1848 the king felt obliged to grant a paper constitution, but not until after the defeat¹ of 1864 (§ 370) did Denmark begin to have any real constitutional development. A Democratic party ("Friends of the Peasants") then began to demand reform, and, after two years of clamor, a constitution was established.

483. This constitution of 1866 promises freedom of speech and of the press, and creates a parliament (Rigsdag) of two

¹ Compare with the case of Austria after 1866, and France after 1870.

houses. The Landsting, or upper house, is composed partly of members appointed by the king, partly of members elected on a very high property qualification. The Folkething, or lower house, is elected by voters who must be self-supporting men, thirty years of age. In 1901, after a thirty years' contest, ministries were made responsible to the representatives.

484. Wonderful Development of Farmers' Coöperative Societies. — Denmark is the special home of coöperation among farmers. The land is not naturally fertile. The people, until after the middle of the nineteenth century, were poor and ignorant. Agriculture was backward. The defeat by Prussia and Austria in 1864 left the little state disrupted and impoverished. Its people were forced to seek some escape from their condition.

A new system of schools pointed the way. Denmark contains 16,000 square miles, about the size of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, with nearly three and a half millions of people. About half of these people are farmers. For them, ninety-eight high schools give instruction in agriculture and domestic economy — twenty of the ninety-eight being special schools in agriculture. Most of these schools, too, give special "short courses" in the winter, and these are largely attended by adult farmers and their wives. The schools are not merely industrial; even the short courses emphasize music and literature. They aim to teach not only how to get a living, but also how to live nobly. They have taught Danish farmers the methods of successful coöperation, and to-day Denmark is one of the most progressive and prosperous farming countries in the world.

Local coöperative societies are found in almost every line of agriculture — in dairying, in the hog industry, in marketing of eggs, in breeding cattle, in producing improved seed, in securing farm machinery, in loaning one another money (farm credits), and so on. The local societies are federated into national organizations. The central society that markets eggs and dairy

products has an office in London as well as in Copenhagen, and owns its own swift steamers to ply daily between the two capitals. Little Denmark supplies Great Britain's forty millions with a large part of their eggs, bacon, and butter — about \$100,000,000 worth annually.

The coöperative movement in agriculture is also found, in only a slightly smaller degree, in Belgium, Holland, Norway, and Sweden — the other small states of northwestern Europe.

NORWAY

485. The Union with Sweden. — The Congress of Vienna, in 1814, took Norway from Denmark and gave it to Sweden (§ 282*c*), to reward that country for services against Napoleon and to punish Denmark for having been his ally. The Norwegians, however, declined to be bartered from one ruler to another without their own consent. A Diet assembled at Eidsvold, declared Norway a sovereign state, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected a king (May 17, 1814). Sweden, backed by the powers, made ready to enforce its claims, but a compromise was finally arranged. The king abdicated, and the Diet elected the Swedish king as King of Norway, on condition that he recognize the new Norwegian constitution.

Thus Norway and Sweden became a dual monarchy. The union was looser, however, than that of Austria-Hungary. The two countries had the same king, but no common ministry and nothing to correspond to the Austrian Delegations. Each kingdom kept its own constitution and its own legislature. This arrangement lasted almost a century, although the Norwegians were never wholly satisfied with it.

486. Struggle for Self-government. — In 1814 the Norwegian legislature (Storthing) was chosen by voters with only a low property qualification, and in 1884 manhood suffrage was adopted. The Storthing assembles as one house, but divides itself for most purposes into two chambers. The king of the

dual state could not dissolve it, and a bill became law in spite of his veto, if passed in three successive annual sessions. In the early part of the century the Storting succeeded in abolishing nobility in Norway, after two vetoes by the king.

The chief interest in Norwegian politics in the nineteenth century lay in its part in the general agitation for more self-government. Except for one period of about thirty years in the middle of the century, the contest was incessant, and after 1872 it grew bitter.

In 1872-1874 the Storting passed a bill three times, requiring the ministries to resign if outvoted. King Oscar II¹ rightly declared that this was an amendment to the constitution, and therefore a change in the compact between the two countries. In such a case, he urged, the rule of the three successive sessions overriding his veto could not apply, and he declined to recognize the law. The Storting impeached the ministers. Civil war seemed at hand; but a new election in 1884 showed that the Norwegians were almost unanimous in the demand, and the king yielded.

487. Independence. — By this success the real executive, for all internal or domestic affairs, became Norwegian, not Swedish. The Storting passed at once a demand for power to appoint Norwegian consuls, separate from the Swedish service. This demand also seemed to the king to involve a change in the constitution, which put the regulation of foreign affairs into his hands. The Swedish party objected that the proposed arrangement would ruin the slight union that remained between the two countries.

¹ Oscar II came to the Swedish throne in 1872, just before the Norwegian national movement became violent; and his moderation and fairness had much to do with preventing an armed conflict, which impetuous men on either side were ready to precipitate. He was one of the greatest men who sat upon European thrones in the last century. Foreign nations paid a deserved tribute to his ability and fairness, by requesting him frequently to act as arbitrator in international disputes. The United States was interested in some of these arbitrations.

The struggle waxed vehement. In the course of the contest the Norwegians removed the symbol of union from their flag, after passing the bill to that effect each year for three sessions (1886-1888), and both countries at times made preparations for war. Indeed, Norway erected a costly line of fortifications on the frontier toward Sweden.



A NORWEGIAN FIORD

488. Peaceful Separation of Norway from Sweden. — In May, 1905, when once more a long negotiation for separate consular service had failed, the Storthing, by unanimous vote, provided by its own act for Norwegian consuls. This was virtual secession, and the king refused to recognize it. The Storthing then declared the union dissolved. The aristocratic element in Sweden called for war, but King Oscar was nobly resolved that his two peoples should not stain their hands with each other's blood. The Swedish labor unions, too, threatened a universal strike, to prevent violent coercion of their Norwegian brethren. In July the Norwegians, in a great national referendum, declared in favor of independence by a vote of 368,000

to 184. Sweden bowed to the decision. In September, 1905, to the eternal honor of both peoples, a peaceful separation was arranged upon friendly terms.

Thus Norway became an independent nation. A small party wished the new nation to become a republic; but, in a second referendum, a large majority declared for a monarchy and chose a Danish prince (Haakon VII) for king.

489. Woman Suffrage. — In 1901 the Storting gave the franchise in all municipal matters to women who paid (or whose husbands paid) a small tax. In 1907 the parliamentary franchise was given to the same class of women. Norway was thus the first sovereign nation to give the full franchise to women. Women, too, sit in the Storting. There is a strong demand for the extension of the franchise to all women on the same terms as men — a demand certain to be granted in the near future.

490. Social Conditions. — Norway has somewhat less than three millions of people; Sweden, more than twice as many. Sweden is also the richer country. The Norwegians, however, have the larger merchant navy — more than four times as large as Sweden's, and the fourth in size in all Europe. This was one reason why, during the union, Norway felt it had a special interest in controlling the consular service.

Despite its poverty, Norway spends large sums on education. It has succeeded in building up one of the best primary school systems in Europe. A relatively large number of Norwegians leave their homes for foreign lands, where, on account of their good education, they are usually well qualified to compete with those of other nationalities.

In each of the three Scandinavian countries there still exists an official state church which has adopted the Lutheran creed. During the Reformation the Catholic religion was almost completely exterminated. But during the second half of the nineteenth century the old intolerance gradually disappeared. At present Catholics are not very numerous, but they are little hampered in the free exercise of their religion.

SWEDEN

491. Political Reform. — Even after the Middle Ages, the Swedish Diet or parliament was made up, medieval fashion, of four estates — nobles, clergy, burgesses (townspeople), and peasants. Such a body was only a slight check upon royal power. The king could play off one class against another.

In 1866 this arrangement was replaced by a modern parliament of two houses, but for nearly half a century more the franchise excluded a large part of the adult males. Agitation for reform began vehemently in 1895. Seventeen years later, the right to vote for members of the lower house of the parliament was given to all adult men and women.

PART X: SLAVIC EUROPE

CHAPTER XLII

RUSSIA

GROWTH AND POPULATION

492. Expansion of Russian Power.—The destruction of Napoleon's Grand Army in 1812 by the climate and vast distances of Russia changed the fate of Europe and revealed the tremendous power of the country. The growth of this vast, aggressive, semi-Oriental state upon the edge of Europe created new problems for all "Western" peoples.

In the fifteenth century, the Russians held only a part of what is now South Central Russia, nowhere touching a navigable sea. Expansion, since then, has come partly by colonization, partly by war.

a. Until the time of Peter the Great, the advance was made almost wholly by the ceaseless movement of Russian pioneers from the region around Moscow into the savage wilderness north and east. Like swarming hives, Russian villages along the frontier sent forward bands of people, each band to advance a little way and form a new village, driving out or absorbing the Tatar barbarians. On the east much of the advance was made by another kind of frontiersmen, called Cossacks. The Cossacks lived partly by agriculture, partly by grazing, and often they waged war on their own account against Turks and Tatars, somewhat as our early American frontiersmen won Kentucky from the Indians and Texas from Mexico. As early as the time of Ivan the Terrible (§ 154) a Cossack horde seized part of Siberia.

b. The most important additions by war come under five heads:

(1) The Baltic provinces from Sweden, by Peter the Great, about 1700 (§ 157).

(2) Poland, by Catherine II, 1772-1793 (§ 173).

(3) Finland from Sweden, in 1743 and 1814 (§§ 158, 282 c).

(4) The provinces along the Black Sea from Azov to the Danube, in a century of war against the Turks — from 1772 to 1878.

(5) In Asia: (a) the occupation of Siberia at the expense of savage Tatar tribes (completed to the Pacific in the seventeenth century), and of Kamchatka in 1707; (b) a district of Asia Minor from the Caucasus to the Caspian, and the Trans-Caspian region — between the Caspian Sea and Persia — at the expense of Mohammedan principalities and of Turkey; and (c) recently, northwestern China, until checked by Japan.

Naturally Russia has sought outlets to the sea. She reached the frozen ocean of the north early. Peter the Great reached the Baltic. Peter began a struggle also for the Black Sea, and Catherine II won those waters (§ 173); but Constantinople closes the exit from them to the outer world. Russian ambition, therefore, has aimed for over a century at that ancient city, the former capital of the Greek faith. Until the Great War (1914), England steadily opposed Russian advance in this direction.

In Asia, until recently, Russian advance has been steady and terrifying. In that continent Russia aimed at the Pacific ports on the east, and at the Persian Gulf and the Indian seas on the south (besides the rich realms of southern Asia and India). Shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century she came into conflict with China on the extreme northwest. In 1858 she advanced to the Amur River, seizing northern Manchuria. Two years later she secured Vladivostok, and so obtained a Pacific port ice-free for most of the year. In 1895 the great Trans-Siberian Railway was begun, and in 1902 this vast undertaking was completed to Vladivostok. The railroad is more than 5000 miles long — nearly double the length of the great American transcontinental roads. Eventually it must prove one of the great steps in the advance of civilization. It has

been fitly compared in importance to the finding of the passage around the Cape of Good Hope or the building of the Suez and Panama canals. Meanwhile Russia had compelled China to cede the magnificent harbor of Port Arthur (§ 529) and the right to extend the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Chinese Manchuria to that port (1898).

On the south, about 1800, Russia secured the passes of the Caucasus Mountains. By the middle of the nineteenth century she had advanced into Turkestan. From that lofty vantage ground she planned a further advance toward India. In swift succession, heedless of England's threats, she secured Bokhara (1868), Khiva (1873), and Merv (1884), despite explicit pledges to England three years before.¹ In 1893 she reached the "roof of the world," the great Pamir plateau, and soon extended her military railroad to within seventy-five miles of Herat, the "key to India." Great Britain seemed ready to resist further advance by war; but a clash in central Asia was postponed by Japan's victory in the far east in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905.

In the last years of the nineteenth century Russia was busied with vast internal improvements — not only the great railroads mentioned above, from Moscow to the Pacific and to the frontiers of India, but also a stupendous system of canals to connect her internal waterways. She was still in a primitive stage industrially, and these useful projects were carried on largely by foreign workmen and foreign capital. Under such conditions at home, Russia had every reason to desire peace abroad; but in 1904 the arrogant folly of her governing classes plunged her into a war with Japan as unjust as it proved ruinous. The story of this struggle is told in another place (§ 531). To the amazement of the world, Russia's huge power collapsed utterly on land and sea, and she was thrust back from Port Arthur and Manchuria.

¹ These Trans-Caspian districts are in the main rich and fertile, with valuable mines, and with a teeming, industrious population.

493. Pre-War Area and Population. — Including her Asiatic territory, Russia before the Great War covered over eight and a half million square miles (between two and three times the area of the United States), or about one sixth the area of the habitable earth. In 1910 she had a population of one hundred and sixty millions,¹ of which all but about thirty millions lived in Europe. The population was made up of some twenty different nationalities, but the great central core, comprising over two thirds of the whole, was composed of Russian Slavs.

These true Russians differ again among themselves, being divided into Great Russians or Muscovites, Little Russians or Ukrainians (Ruthenians) living in the southwest, and White Russians in the west. The Cossacks are Little Russians. There has always been some hostility between the Great Russians and the Little Russian minority, as they differ considerably in character and temperament. In modern times decrees against the use of the Ukrainian language (1876) helped only to emphasize these differences.

Besides these dominant peoples there were a number of subject nations, forming a fringe about the center. Attempts to Russianize these peoples were consistently made by the Russian government, especially in the nineteenth century. The largest of these subject nationalities were the *Poles* (twelve millions) and the *Finns* (over three and a half millions). In the Baltic provinces the *German* element was quite strong among the higher classes, and there were many *Lithuanians* in the northwestern provinces. There were also about five million *Jews*, dispersed throughout the larger cities of the south and west, and about thirteen million Tatars; but these peoples were widely scattered and never formed a political unit, such as the Poles, Lithuanians, and Finns had done in the past.

The Jews are mostly emigrants from the former Kingdom of Poland, which they left to escape persecution. But in the last

¹ This population is just about equal to the whole group of English-speaking peoples in the United States and the British Empire.

century, and even more recently, Russia frequently subjected them to stern measures and instigated popular prejudice against them. Thus, several times they became victims of the fury of the mob in bloody massacres. As a result, great numbers of them have been coming to the United States.

In religion there were almost as many differences as in nationality. The vast bulk of the Russian people belong to the Greek schismatic church (officially called the *Greek Orthodox Church*) and, until the overthrow of the monarchy, practically regarded the tsar as their spiritual head. The Poles and the Lithuanians were Catholics. There was also a strong leaning to the Catholic Church among the people of the Ukraine, an inclination in the past checked only by the repressive measures of the Russian government. The Germans along the Baltic were Lutherans. About fifteen million Mohammedans besides lived within the boundaries of Russia.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

494. Emancipation of the Serfs.—The greatest event in Russian history between the career of Peter the Great and the Bolshevik revolution was the emancipation of the serfs by Alexander II, in 1861. The serfs numbered over forty-seven millions (nearly twelve times as many as the slaves who were freed in the United States at nearly the same time). They comprised four fifths of the population of European Russia. Not only were they freed from the jurisdiction of the nobles and from the obligation to work on the lord's estate, but they were also given land. They had always dwelt in little village communities; in 1861 each village, or *mir*, was left to manage its own local affairs and was given land for its support. The land, like the serf labor, was taken from the noble, but it was not confiscated: each *mir* was to pay an annual rent, fixed by the tsar's commissioners, or to buy the land outright if it so preferred. If the *mir* wished to buy, the tsar paid the landlords, and the *mir* undertook to repay the tsar in small

installments spread over forty-nine years. Most mirs adopted this plan.

495. Failure of the Emancipation. — Alexander and other well-meaning men hoped that marvelous improvements would follow the emancipation, but such hopes were not realized during the next two generations. The great bulk of the peasants remained constantly near the starving point. This unfortunate condition was largely due to two reasons, first, to the fact that the peasantry did not get enough land. The tsar intended each village to receive at least as much land as the inhabitants had cultivated for their own support before the emancipation. But the nobles who carried out the details of the scheme managed to cut down the amount. They did not want the peasants to be prosperous, independent farmers, but wished that, as formerly, they should be forced to eke out a scanty income by tilling the land of the nobles about them. They therefore saw to it that the peasants did not receive enough land to make them self-supporting.

Moreover, the taxes were excessive, so that more than half the peasant's labor went to the tax collector. Nearly one third of the entire peasant body, indeed, were so near starvation that they pledged their labor for one or more years in advance to neighboring landlords, and so were forced back to a kind of temporary serfdom.

In addition, the government, until 1907, held the mir responsible as a unit for the annual rent or installment of the purchase price of the land, and for other taxes. Farming methods were antiquated and labor brought small returns. The artisan was not allowed to leave his village to seek opportunities in the cities, except under hampering restrictions; and as a rule agriculture was carried out carelessly and uneconomically by a communal system. The mir assembly each year or two redistributed its lands in strips among the families of the village.

During the reign of the last tsar attempts were made to remedy these evils. In October, 1906, after a year of terrible

anarchy, the tsar by edict declared the communal system of farming no longer binding. Freedom of movement was granted, some taxes were abolished, and a vast amount of government land, especially in Siberia, was offered to the peasantry on low terms of fifty annual installments. The outbreak of the Great War and the Russian Revolution of 1917 of course violently upset all these plans.



THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW

This is the oldest part of the city, strongly fortified and containing many palaces and churches, among them the palace of the tsars, now the seat of the Communist People's Commissars.

496. Growth of Radical Socialism among the Workingmen. — By about 1890 Russia began to feel the effects of the Industrial Revolution which had transformed England a century earlier. Moscow had been a "sacred city" of churches and monasteries, marked by lofty spires and gilded domes. It was now becoming an industrial center, with huge factories and furnaces, marked by smoky chimneys. In other cities, especially in the Russian ports, the transformation was even more rapid. In such cities socialism was gaining adherents among the new working class.

There were two distinct tendencies among the Russian socialists. The larger body of them planned reform by peaceful means, and in this respect resembled the Social Democratic parties of other lands. A small but reckless part was made up of Socialist-Revolutionists. It was largely a secret society. It held that violence was necessary and right in the struggle to free Russia from the despotism which crushed and choked every attempt at peaceful reform. In these days of perfectly disciplined standing armies, equipped with modern machine guns, open revolution is doomed to almost certain bloody failure.

So the revolutionists worked by the dagger and the dynamite bomb, to slay the chief ministers of despotism. The secret revolutionary society selected its victims with careful deliberation; and, when one had been killed, secretly posted placards proclaiming to the world the list of "crimes" for which he was "executed." Despite every precaution, the Revolutionists, this "Underground Russia," as it was aptly called, with complete disregard of their own lives, managed to strike down minister after minister among the most hated tools of the tsar.

497. The Higher Classes: Slavophil Sentiment. — Besides the peasants, the rural population comprised a numerous nobility and other landed proprietors; and in the cities were small professional and mercantile classes.

For two hundred years (since Peter the Great) these upper classes have had a veneer of Western civilization. At the opening of the nineteenth century their conversation was carried on, not in Russian, but in French; and their books and their ideas were imported from Paris. A little before the middle of the century, however, a reaction began in favor of native ideas and customs. This was the beginning of the *Slavophil movement*.

Notwithstanding their recent humiliation by Japan, the intellectual leaders of Russia believed zealously in themselves as the future leaders of civilization. They looked forward to an *All-Slavic Empire* which should include the Slavic peoples of

Austria-Hungary and of the Balkans. They considered Russia, moreover, the natural heir of the defunct Eastern Roman Empire. The Turk was to be driven back to Asia, and Constantinople was to become the second capital of the empire of their dreams. This All-Slavic Empire, in power and in the character of its culture, was to surpass the Western civilization which so far has ruled the world. Hence, in their opinion, the Russian state was the natural protector of Slavic interests beyond the Russian boundaries — for instance, in the Balkan peninsula.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

498. The government was an absolute despotism. The tsar possessed unrestricted power in civil and religious matters. It was, moreover, a highly centralized despotism, reaching down into the trifling details of the conduct of its subjects. Not a scholarship in a school nor a bed in a hospital could be introduced without the solemn approval of the tsar. Such a system requires of course the appointment by the central government of a regular army of officials, and enables the government to exercise an enormous amount of patronage and favoritism. This Russian bureaucracy was noted for its corruption, and was perhaps the chief factor in utterly discrediting the government with the masses. But there were other sources of revolutionary unrest.

499. Russianizing the Western Provinces. — The western provinces of Russia — Finland and the Baltic provinces — had drawn their civilization from Sweden and Germany. The former had, indeed, belonged for centuries to Sweden; the civilization of the latter is almost entirely the work of the Teutonic Knights (§§ 40, 159) and its upper classes were still mainly German in blood and speech. In both these regions the predominant religion was, until recently, the Lutheran creed. The Poles, too, were marked off from the Russian Slavs by a higher degree of western culture and, above all, by their loyal attachment to the Catholic Church.

Finland, Poland, and the Baltic provinces excelled Russia proper in civilization; and each at its incorporation into the Russian state was solemnly promised the perpetual enjoyment of its own religion, language, customs, and laws. Despite these pledges the Slavophiles determined to Russianize these peoples. Russianizing meant a certain amount of real progress for the barbarous races of Siberia and the Caucasus, but it was bitterly resented by the progressive western districts. In 1881, the German language was forbidden in the schools and churches and for all public communications. In Poland, after futile insurrections in 1830 (§ 310), 1848, and 1863, Russification was carried on with persistent brutality. Confiscation of Polish property and its distribution among Russians, prohibition of the Polish language in schools and churches, and above all attacks on the religion of the Poles were the means employed by the tsar's government.

500. Administration of Finland. — After the Congress of Vienna, Finland was connected with Russia only through a "personal union." The tsar was also Grand Duke of Finland, but the duchy had its own constitution, its own representative Diet, and its own institutions, all guaranteed in the most solemn manner by each grand duke at his accession. Moreover, the Finns were industrious, peaceful, and prosperous, and thus gave no pretext for interference.

Still the Slavophiles had their way. In 1900 the process of making Finland a mere Russian province began; and, despite the sympathies of the Western world for Finland, it was carried on rapidly, until by 1902 the last vestiges of the ancient liberties of this little northern land had been swept away.

The revolutionary disorders of 1905-1906 (see below), however, gave the Finns an opportunity. They were quick to take advantage of it, and the helplessness of the Russian state forced the tsar to yield to their demands and restore to the Finns their ancient rights. A Finnish Diet, elected by manhood suffrage,

adopted a new constitution which received the tsar's approval in 1906. This constitution provided for a single-chamber legislature elected by universal suffrage. In a few years, however (1910), new measures of the Russian government again greatly reduced Finnish autonomy.

501. The government of Russia has varied with the tsars. *Alexander I* (1801–1825) has been mentioned several times in connection with the period of Napoleon and Metternich. He had received a French education, and, to some extent, he favored a benevolent policy in the management of Russia and Poland. His brother *Nicholas I* (1825–1855) was thoroughly Russian and despotic in feeling. His reign marks the beginning of the Slavophil movement. Nicholas despised Western ideas and Western civilization, and he believed in Russia with all his heart. He abandoned all of Alexander I's reforms and openly revived the policy of despotism.

In the last years of his reign, however, the humiliation of the Crimean War (§ 345) revealed the weaknesses of the irresponsible bureaucratic system when pitted against Western civilization; and *Alexander II* (1855–1881), the son of Nicholas I, turned again to a liberal policy. He emancipated the serfs against the almost unanimous protest of the nobles. Though he introduced local representative assemblies into the provinces, the people cared so little for such institutions that often the mirs and towns petitioned to be relieved from the burden of sending representatives. Under Alexander jury trial was introduced, the press given more freedom, and the universities were allowed a liberty never before permitted.

The result of these liberal measures was that Alexander soon had to face a revolutionary movement led by extremists. He resorted to repression, and the radicals to terrorism. They organized a secret society, the Nihilists,¹ and by assassination after assassination tried to avenge those of their friends who

¹ The Nihilists derived their name from the Latin *nihil* (= nothing) because they approved of nothing in existing Russian institutions.

had been punished by the government and to terrify the tsar into granting a very liberal constitution.

Alexander finally decided to grant part of their demands. He signed a decree which was to set up a special commission to prepare thorough reforms. Unhappily, the day before the project was to be published, the Nihilists succeeded in murdering him with a dynamite bomb.

Alexander III (1881-1894) returned to the policy of his grandfather Nicholas. Many of the liberal reforms of Alexander II were undone. In nearly half of European Russia the local assemblies were abolished. The press was again subjected to rigid censorship. The teachers in the universities were muzzled, and the royal officers and police were given wide authority to interfere in the local government of the mirs. Merely by decree, suspected radicals were imprisoned in secret dungeons without trial, or sent to Siberia. But these measures did not succeed in stamping out the revolutionary spirit. The Nihilists merely merged into the party of the radical socialists, and under this new form continued their career of crime (§ 496).

502. Nicholas II (1894-1917) continued his father's policy both as to despotism and as to Slavophilism. Though not personally tyrannical, his lack of insight and his weak character made him the victim of ill-chosen advisers. His reign was filled with unrest at home and disasters abroad, until the Revolution of 1917 brought about the downfall of the dynasty and the proclamation of the republic, ending in his execution and that of his whole family.

In the beginning of Nicholas' reign the repressive policy seemed to have succeeded in crushing all agitation for reform and all open criticism of the government. Below the calm surface, however, discontent increased. The liberals and radicals constantly gained more adherents among the lawyers, physicians, professors, and students of the universities, and even among some of the nobility. When opportunity came these men would speak out. Many of them, it is true, dreamed only

of slight reforms, and were thoroughly loyal to the tsar. Nevertheless, the prevailing discontent swelled the ranks of the extremists more rapidly than those of the moderates.

The first opportunity for the dissatisfied elements came in 1904. The failure of Russia in the Japanese War revealed both the inefficiency and the corruption of the government. High officials had stolen money intended for rifles and powder and food and clothing for the armies. During the disasters of the war itself other officials stole the Red Cross funds intended to relieve the sufferings of the wounded. Many, too, were convinced that the war was begun merely in the interest of certain wealthy men who had heavily invested in enterprises in the Far East.

The patriotic classes were exasperated by these shames and by the humiliating defeat of their country, and began to make their murmurs heard. The peasantry was woefully oppressed by war taxes. The labor classes in the towns were thrown out of employment or lost wages in the general stagnation of industries. Early in 1905, during the war, Russia was convulsed as never before by strikes, peasant risings, and mutiny in the army and the navy.

For a while longer the government tried to stifle such popular manifestations by bloody excesses. One instance, famous because so near the royal palace and the homes of the foreign ambassadors, sent a thrill of horror through the civilized world. A large number of loyal citizens in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) had sent a petition to the tsar, asking him to hear them in person when, on the following Sunday, they should march to the palace to present their grievances, since they had lost faith in his officials. Sunday morning, January 22, 1905, dense masses of men, women, and children, wholly unarmed, filled the streets leading to the royal palace. The Cossack cavalry charged them, and the palace troops mowed them down with machine guns. This was the "Red Sunday."

503. Granting of the Duma. — Now, for once, the educated classes spoke out forcefully. The day after Red Sunday, leading

citizens of the capital joined in a public declaration that "the government had declared war on the Russian people," and appealed to all good citizens to support the cause of reform. For a time the tsar and his advisers felt compelled to yield. In March a representative assembly was promised, and, soon after, the tsar issued a decree guaranteeing complete freedom of speech.

Nicholas stated, however, that the *Duma*, as the new assembly was called, should have power only to advise him, and he excluded workingmen and the professional classes from the privilege of voting in the election. A general strike followed. In October the railways were idle. In the cities the stores were closed. Powerhouses shut down, and the electric light went out. This finally brought the government to yield. New regulations for the election were issued, and the assembly was promised some slight power.

In May, 1906, amid gathering anarchy, the promised Duma was at last brought together — the first representative assembly of the Russian nation. The tsar had arranged the elections so as to leave most weight in the hands of the wealthy and noble classes, and the police interfered actively at the polls against radical candidates. Nevertheless the revolutionary movement had swept everything before it. A large majority of the members were liberals or socialists.

By unanimous vote the Duma asked for four political reforms — universal suffrage, a responsible ministry, the abolition of martial law, and amnesty for all political offenders then in prison or exile. They petitioned, also, for a long program of social reform, including the turning over of state lands to the suffering peasantry. All these demands were refused. After proper persistence, the Duma wisely withdrew all but the demand for relief of the peasants. Reactionary elements, however, were gaining influence with the tsar. He announced that he was "sadly disappointed" that the Duma insisted upon meddling with matters that did not pertain to it; and July 21

he dissolved it, saying that he himself would see to the needed reforms.

In October, 1906, an imperial edict decreed the land reforms mentioned in § 595, and abolished the special privileges of the nobles, making all Russians equal before the law and equally eligible to public employment. Another Duma was promised for March, 1907.

504. Course of Events to the Great War. — The dissolution of the Duma was followed by months of anarchy. By stern repression and intimidation, the government tried to suppress not only disorder, but every form of political agitation. In turn the extreme revolutionists resorted to a new campaign of systematic assassination. To crown all, the unhappy land was again distracted by peasant risings and by strikes, which were put down brutally by Cossack "punitive expeditions" in which thousands of unoffending people perished, while a new famine desolated many provinces.

The second Duma met March 5, 1907. The liberal members of the former assembly, so far as they were not already in prison or in the grave, had been made ineligible for election. But a new body of socialists appeared, and there was again a large majority opposed to the government. In June the tsar ordered the Duma to expel some sixty members on the ground of treason. The Duma appointed a committee to investigate the charge. The tsar at once dissolved it for this delay, and the police seized the accused delegates.

Then, contrary to plain promises of 1906, the tsar changed once more the plan of elections, so as to give power very largely to the great landowners. The third Duma, elected on this new basis, met in November of that year, and proved submissive to the tsar's will. On the expiration of its term (in 1912), like methods secured a fourth Duma equally satisfactory to despotism.

The Revolutionists continued their terrorism and assassinations until the outbreak of the World War (1914). To all out-

ward appearances the war seemed to have quelled the domestic discord. But disasters in the field and mistrust of the government's policy kindled anew the revolutionary flame. In March, 1917, the world was suddenly surprised by the news that the tsar had been dethroned. For a while it seemed as if the moderate party in power was to give Russia real unity and much-needed reform, but soon the extremists overthrew the temporary government, and there followed a reign of terror. These later developments belong rather to the post-war period and will be treated in their proper place (§ 572 ff).

CHAPTER XLIII

THE BALKAN STATES

505. The Congress of Vienna, in 1815, left the Balkans practically unchanged. Southeastern Europe, beyond Austria-Hungary and Russia, remained under the yoke of the Turk, as it had been ever since the fifteenth century, when the yellow hordes of the Ottomans swept over the whole peninsula and made Constantinople, the ancient capital of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire, the seat of their sultan. But the Turk remained an invader. He never fused with the conquered races, never raised them to a higher plane of civilization, never reconciled them to his rule.

The modern history of southeastern Europe begins with the successful efforts of the enslaved Balkan peoples to recover their freedom. The Turks always formed only a small portion of the inhabitants. The mass of the people differed from them not only in race, language, and culture but also in religion. By far the greater part of the native Balkan races tenaciously clung to their Christian faith and their Greek Orthodox (schismatic) Church, while the Turks were fanatical Mohammedans.

In the south, in the old Hellenic peninsula, dwelt the Greeks. In the northeast, beyond the lower Danube, lived the Roumanians, a mixture of Roman colonists with Gothic and Slavic fragments. Their language, however, is based on Latin in somewhat the same way as Italian or French.

Between the Roumanians and the Greeks lay two Slav peoples: the Bulgarians ¹ in the east from the Ægean Sea to the Danube,

¹ The original Bulgars were Mongolian invaders, like the Magyars and Turks. But they were too few to preserve their race and language and the Bulgars may now be considered a Slavic nation.

and the Serbians in the west. On the Adriatic Sea were Albanians, wild mountaineers, "the eagle's brood" as they were called, who had largely abandoned the Christian faith for Mohammed's teaching.

Some of these peoples had kinsmen beyond the Balkan region in Austria-Hungary and in Russia, the dividing line being drawn merely by the accidents of war or diplomacy. A fourth of the Roumanians were in the province of Bessarabia which Russia had seized from Turkey in 1812. Another fourth was in Transylvania and Bukovina, territories subject to Austria-Hungary. The Croats and Slovenes living in western Hungary and Austria were of the same group as the Serbs, though differing from them in religion. In the mountain fastnesses of Montenegro (Black Mountain) dwelt two hundred thousand half-savage Serbians, who never yielded to the Turks but kept their lawless freedom at the cost of five hundred years of "ferocious heroism."

506. Three Balkan Peoples Win Freedom, 1829. — Like other European nations the enslaved Balkan peoples were awakened from their mute submission to Turkish tyranny to a new consciousness of their nationality, largely through the influence of the French Revolution. The ideas of liberty and equality fired their imagination and pictured to them a more glorious future, while an intense revival of interest in their own past, its literature and its heroic figures, fed their longing to enter again the circle of independent nations.

The Roumanians on the Danube and the Serbians in their rugged country had risen in various rebellions early in the nineteenth century, but the first successful revolt against the sultan was that of the Greeks in 1821-1829 (§ 301). In the final settlement, in which Russia acted the part of a "big brother" to the little Balkan peoples, the Roumanian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia and part of the lands inhabited by the Serbians were granted a large measure of self-government under rulers of their own. However, they were still obliged to pay an annual tribute to the Turkish Empire.

507. The First Eastern Question. — This small measure of relief could, of course, not be considered as final. The Balkan peoples themselves, as well as Russia, hoped and worked for a complete extinction of Turkish rule in the peninsula. About the middle of the century (1844) Tsar Nicholas I suggested to England that it was time to decide what was to be done with the possessions of the sultan, for it seemed certain that Turkey, undermined by corruption and threatened by the ever-growing discontent of her subject nations, was "the sick man of Europe" and could not live much longer. This was the first "Eastern Question," as that question was long to be understood. England received this suggestion of an eventual partition of Turkey very coolly. She preferred to bolster up the declining Ottoman power as a barrier to Russian advance in Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean. England, France, and Russia had indeed acted in concert twenty-five years before in freeing the Greeks. But in 1854 (in the Crimean War) the two Western states fought Russia to prevent any further breaking up of Turkey (§ 345).

508. The Russian-Turkish War of 1877-1878. — In return the sultan promised better treatment of his Christian subjects, but the next twenty years saw no serious attempt to carry out this pledge. In the year 1858 many Christians were massacred in Arabia; in 1870 several thousand Christians in Syria fell victims to Mohammedan fanaticism. Finally, in 1875-1876, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, two adjacent provinces in the northwestern part of the Balkan peninsula, driven to desperation by the exactions of the Turkish tax gatherers, rose in revolt. The Bulgarians followed suit.

The Herzegovinian herdsmen in their distant mountains were able to carry on a guerrilla warfare for some time, but the Bulgarians, who had put to death some Turkish officials, were made to feel the full measure of Moslem vengeance. This vengeance became known as the "Bulgarian atrocities." Turkish soldiers destroyed a hundred villages, massacred thirty thousand people

with every form of torture and cruelty, and carried off thousands of Christian women into degrading slavery.

Meanwhile Serbia had risen in support of the insurgents in near-by Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro had followed her example. As they were unequal to the task of coping with the regular Turkish army, they begged the great powers for assistance. All held back, except Russia, confining themselves to sending notes and remonstrances to the sultan, who remained defiant. In Russia Tsar Alexander II, after the recovery of his country from the disasters of the Crimean War, had resumed the traditional policy of supporting the Christian peoples in the Ottoman Empire and thereby extending Russian influence in the Near East.

In the spring of 1877 Alexander with the hearty and unanimous approval of his people, declared war on the sultan. The universal horror and indignation in western Europe against the crimes of the "unspeakable Turk" prevented for a time any interference with Russia by the western governments. The armies of the tsar at first encountered fierce resistance, but after ten months' struggle on the Danube and in the mountains of Bulgaria they swept over the peninsula and finally advanced to within seven miles of Constantinople. Only fear of England, whose fleet had entered the Dardanelles, prevented the Russians from taking the capital.

The sultan had to sue for peace, which was concluded in the treaty of San Stefano, March 3, 1878. It recognized the complete independence of Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, with their territories increased. It created a large Bulgaria, extending from the Danube to the Ægean, and from Albania to the Black Sea, but still tributary to Turkey. The straits (Dardanelles and Bosphorus) were to be open at all times to peaceful commerce.

These terms were so favorable to Russia, — the newly created Slav states in the Balkans would be naturally the grateful allies of their "big brother" — that they aroused the wrath of Eng-

land and Austria-Hungary. With consternation the latter beheld her own southern Slavic frontier bounded by other Slav states under Russian patronage, and the former saw the dreaded Russian advance to the Mediterranean an accomplished fact. Both protested vigorously and insisted that the affairs of the Balkans should be settled by an international congress.

509. The Congress of Berlin. — At the invitation of Bismarck the congress met at Berlin in June, 1878, and within a month it completely revised the terms of the treaty of San Stefano, which



THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

was only four and a half months old. It was dominated by Disraeli, the English Prime Minister (§ 385) and meant a diplomatic defeat of Russia. Part of the liberated Christian population was returned to the old slavery, and the liberties of others were cut down. Following are the settlements made by the congress.

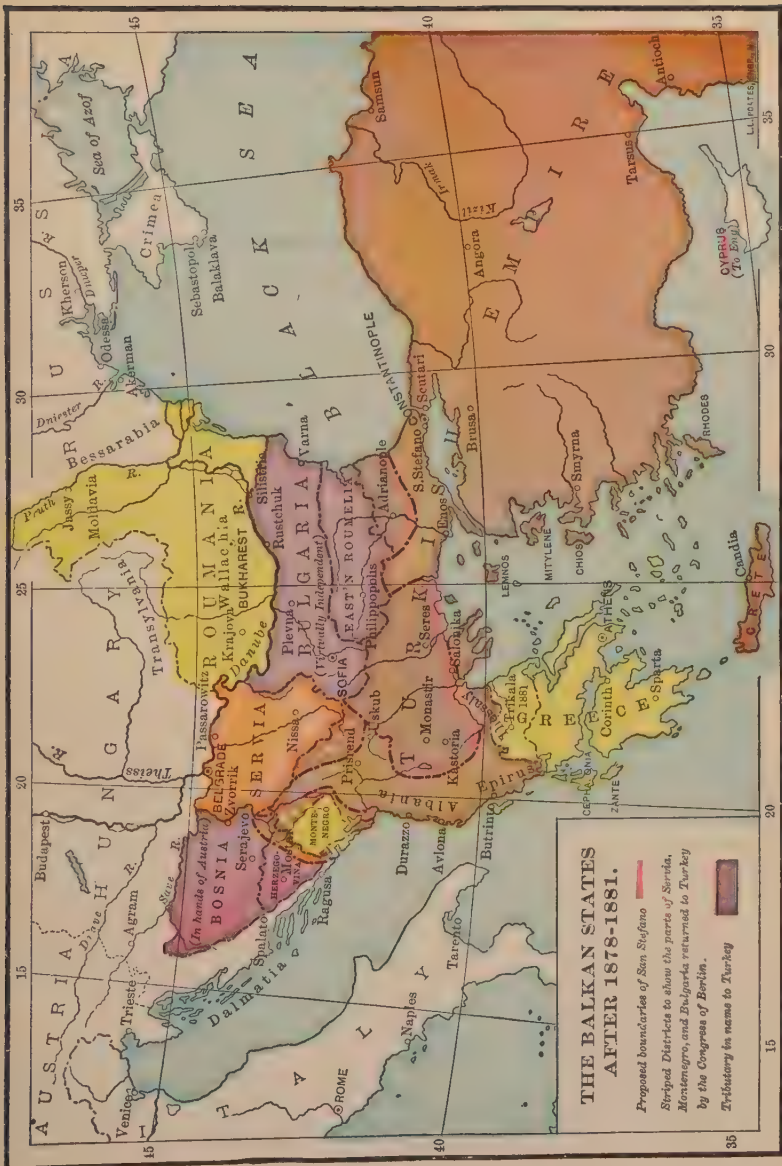
a. Roumania and Serbia, virtually independent since 1829, became sovereign kingdoms but without any increase in territory. In fact, Roumania had to give up Bessarabia to Russia.¹

¹ Bessarabia, after the Crimean War (1856), had been united to Moldavia, the eastern part of Roumania. It was inhabited mostly by Roumanians.

b. Bosnia and Herzegovina, where three years earlier the revolt had begun, were handed over to Austria-Hungary to be pacified. At the last moment Turkey threatened to break up the congress by refusing to agree to this transfer. To assuage her feelings the congress declared the Austrian occupation temporary, but failed to define the time limit. It must be admitted that the Austrians did much, and at considerable cost in money and lives to themselves, to restore peace and order in that lawless corner of the Balkans. Turkey seemed satisfied with the arrangement, but then Serbia began to cast a longing eye on the two provinces, as they were inhabited by kinsmen of the Serbs. The Austrian occupation became a source of permanent friction between the two states. It was no mere accident that the Great War had its beginnings in that out-of-the-way corner of Europe.

c. Bulgaria, which the treaty of San Stefano had left much enlarged, was divided into three parts. The northern part, between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains, became self-governing, but continued to pay an annual tax to the sultan. The middle part (Eastern Roumelia) was returned to Turkey, but the sultan had to pledge himself to appoint a Christian governor whose official conduct would be under the supervision of the great powers. The southern third ("Macedonia") was again put fully under Turkish rule. It was Austria and England that insisted on this artificial partition, for to them a big Bulgaria was a strong Russian outpost on the Ægean. Their fears were not groundless, for no sooner had the congress finished its work than a swarm of Russian officials descended upon the little state and treated it as a Russian province.

d. Greece, at a staggering cost, had built up an army, and in 1877 she had wished to join in the attack upon Turkey, to recover her ancient territories, Thessaly and Epirus. The western powers had forbidden such action, promising Greece that she should gain her end by keeping quiet. Accordingly, soon after the congress she was given Thessaly and part of Epirus (1881).



e. By a special agreement between England and Turkey, the former promised to prevent any further encroachments of Russia in Asia Minor, while the latter promised radical reforms in the government of its Christian subjects. As a pledge of his good will the sultan had to allow the occupation of Cyprus by the English.

510. The Second Eastern Question. — The mutual distrust of the great powers thus put off a permanent solution of the Eastern Question. The arbitrary manner of transferring territories from one sovereignty to another without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants soon gave rise to new complications. It must be admitted, however, that the satisfactory arrangement of the Balkan map was an extremely difficult problem. Apart from the ambitions and fears of Russia, England, Austria-Hungary, and others, the determination of the boundaries even in accordance with the wishes of the people was, in some cases, well-nigh impossible.

A glance at the map will show that the Berlin congress left of the European territory of Turkey a long strip less in area than the State of Missouri, extending from the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora across the peninsula to the Adriatic. To this strip the name Macedonia has been frequently applied, though properly speaking it belongs only to the central portion. It is broken everywhere by mountain ranges, and inhabited by such a medley of people that it has been aptly described as a "perfect museum of races." Along the coast of the Ægean Sea and the borders of Greece, the Greeks predominate. In the north central regions are the Serbs, in the northeast the Bulgars. Scattered through the central districts are Turks and a considerable number of Jews. In the west, bordering on the Adriatic, are the Albanians, a Mohammedan people, primitive in their civilization and lawless in their habits. The racial boundaries are not well defined and many districts are inhabited by several of these peoples. From this it will be clear that the division of this remnant of Turkish territory in Europe bristled with difficulties.

511. After 1878 Macedonia was most of the time in a state of anarchy. Insurrectionary committees, operating from Bulgaria or Greece, fomented revolts, and the Turks put them down with cruelties like those of 1876, while the jealousies among the great powers prevented intervention.

The first to upset the treaty of Berlin was little Bulgaria. In 1885 the Bulgars in Eastern Roumelia in a bloodless revolution got rid of the Turkish officials and proclaimed their annexation to Bulgaria. Turkey protested but none of the great powers lifted a finger. .

Eleven years later, in 1896, the island of Crete rebelled against the sultan and asked for annexation to Greece. Confusion followed for many months, accompanied by massacres. The powers, fearing international complications, forbade the union of Crete with Greece. In spite of this opposition Greece sent aid to the Cretans, well knowing that this meant war with Turkey. She hoped that the Bulgarians would rise and make common cause with her. But when next spring the sultan declared war on Greece, the Bulgarians remained quiet and the powers left Greece to her fate. The Turkish army, reorganized and drilled by German officers, showed a military excellence wholly unexpected and the Greeks suffered a shameful defeat on land and sea. They had to pay an indemnity and to cede strips of territory along their northern boundary which gave to Turkey command of all the mountain passes into Greece. The powers, however, insisted that the Cretans should have self-government and in 1906 went a step further by allowing the appointment of a governor by Greece. Seven years later the sultan was compelled to renounce all sovereignty over the island.

512. The Eastern Question Reopened. — In 1908 a revolution broke out in Turkey. This was the work of a new party, known as the "Young Turks," which found its recruits chiefly in the army and among young men who had been educated at foreign universities. In 1908 a so-called "Committee of Union and Progress" was formed in the Turkish port of Salonika. In

July this committee declared that Turkey must have a constitution and a parliament, after the fashion of the western states. The aged Sultan Abdul Hamid II was forced to yield, and the first Turkish parliament was opened while all the world wondered whether the young and inexperienced reformers would succeed in improving a government so thoroughly corrupt as that of Abdul Hamid and his predecessors.

Indeed, troubles arose soon enough. The revolution was the signal for a reopening of the Eastern Question. A counter-revolution had to be put down in Constantinople. Abdul Hamid, who at heart hated all reforms, was deposed, and his brother was made sultan under the title of Mohammed V. In spite of this initial success the Young Turks found it increasingly difficult to maintain their position against their numerous opponents at home. The opposition came chiefly from the non-Turkish peoples in the empire who had been promised complete equality before the law but soon found out that the Young Turks thought less of the rights of these peoples than of strengthening the powers of the new government. Still more serious were the losses in prestige and territory which Turkey suffered under the new régime.

513. Losses under the Young Turks. — As soon as the revolution broke out, Bulgaria seized the opportunity of declaring herself entirely independent. Its ruler, Ferdinand, assumed the title "Tsar" and no longer paid tribute to the sultan. Next Austria proclaimed her control over Bosnia-Herzegovina permanent after having secretly secured the consent of Russia. This was a serious blow, not so much to Turkey as to the Serbians. For the latter, ever since they had won their independence, had dreamed of a larger Serbia which would include these two provinces, and eventually, too, Croatia and Slovenia to the north of them. Austria, on the other hand, considered these districts as of the greatest importance to herself, since they connected her main possessions with Dalmatia and her Adriatic ports.

The Young Turks were reconciled to the loss when they were paid a much-needed sum as indemnity. But their troubles were not yet at an end. In September, 1911, Italy determined to declare war on Turkey on the ground that Italian subjects in Tripoli in North Africa were not properly treated. Some European governments protested against such high-handed action; but the Italians very properly retorted that they were only following the example of other countries, protecting their citizens by annexing territories the governments of which were unable to maintain law and order. In the war that followed Turkey was no match for Italy. There was not much fighting, and Italy took possession of what territory she could hold with her troops. The Young Turks were compelled to give in, chiefly because a new and more formidable danger threatened nearer home. In October, 1912, they ceded Tripoli to Italy. The Italians renamed it Libya.

514. The First Balkan War of 1912. — Nowhere did the Young Turk régime prove a greater disappointment than in much-harassed Macedonia. Though liberty and equality were promised to the Christian nationalities, it soon became evident that the Young Turks meant to strengthen the tottering Ottoman Empire by suppressing all non-Turkish aspirations and forcibly welding these divergent races into one nation. For Macedonia the result was chaos worse than ever.

Thereupon the neighboring Christian states decided to solve the question by ending Turkish rule in Macedonia and by partitioning the land among themselves. For this purpose Guešov, prime minister of Bulgaria, arranged the Balkan League, an alliance between Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, with the full consent and approval of the Russian tsar. Though the other great powers frantically strove to avert a war that might at any time start a European conflagration, little Montenegro ten days before the conclusion of the peace with Italy gave the signal for the beginning of hostilities. The other allies quickly followed. The Turkish armies, though superior in

numbers, proved unequal to the task. The Bulgarians in a short time drove the Turks back towards Constantinople and invested the frowning fortress of Adrianople. The Greeks in the meantime cleared the Ægean Sea of Turkish vessels and marched into Macedonia and Thrace. The Serbian and Montenegrin forces invaded central Macedonia and from there pushed westward toward the Adriatic.



CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GOLDEN HORN

The Golden Horn, a bay of the Bosphorus, is the harbor of the city.

Austria and Italy now began to get nervous lest the Serbians should get a strong foothold on the Adriatic near its narrow entrance. They notified Serbia that they would not permit the seizure of Albania, which they intended to erect into an autonomous state. Russia energetically supported Serbia's plan while Germany let it be known that she would stand by Austria "in shining armor." For a while there was danger of a general European war. But Russia, weakened by domestic disorders, gave in, and Serbia had to be satisfied with a free railroad to the Adriatic Sea. At a conference in London the Young Turks had to surrender all claims to the lands occupied by the Balkan allies.

515. The Second Balkan War of 1913. — No sooner was the fighting of the First Balkan War over than the allies fell out over the booty. Since Austria's veto prevented Serbia from getting the coveted Albania, she now asked for a revision of the treaty of alliance that would give her compensation from the Bulgarian share of Macedonia. Greece, Montenegro, and Roumania joined Serbia, fearing that Bulgaria would become the predominant state in the peninsula. (Roumania had not taken part in the first war, but now saw a chance to extend her territory at the expense of Bulgaria). Bulgaria, who had borne the brunt of the fighting and suffered the heaviest losses, claimed most of the conquered territory in accordance with her understanding of the treaty of alliance.

In June, 1913, the Second Balkan War began. After bloody defeats Bulgaria was forced to sue for peace. The Turks had in the meantime reoccupied Adrianople and thus doubled their hold on Europe. The general peace of Bucharest again failed to solve the Balkan question. Albania was made an independent state. Bulgaria was cheated out of her hopes of Salonika and other territories, while Greece received Salonika and parts of Thrace, the former Turkish province directly west of Constantinople. Outside the peninsula, Crete and most of the Ægean islands were handed over to her. Serbia nearly doubled her size, extending southward into Macedonia, while Roumania enlarged her possessions between the Danube and the Black Sea at the expense of Bulgaria. The latter state, being the defeated party, was put off with small parts of Macedonia, and did not get a suitable harbor on the Ægean Sea or those districts of the central Balkans which even her enemies recognized as Bulgarian. This bitter disappointment induced the Bulgarians to enter the Great War as enemies of Serbia, to obtain what, in their eyes, was unjustly denied them in the peace of Bucharest.

516. Effects of the Balkan Wars. — These Balkan wars gave the world an object lesson in what modern war with modern engines of destruction was likely to be. The public debt of

all participants increased enormously, the losses in life were appalling, and the hatred engendered by the fierce national animosities was intense. Atrocities of the worst kind were committed on all sides, and it is hard to say whether Christians or Turks went further in these relapses into barbarism.



1912

1913

TERRITORIAL CHANGES IN THE BALKAN WARS

The Balkan states were all constitutional monarchies, in form at least. In Serbia changes in the dynasty and other political "reforms" were brought about by *coups d'état* and assassinations. Montenegro and Albania were, before the Great War, practically absolute monarchies. The national assembly in every Balkan country, except Roumania, had only one house, and manhood suffrage prevailed in all. Education was still in a primitive state, over one-half of the grown-up population being illiterate.

Most of the people in the Balkan states adhere to their national churches, which until the nineteenth century formed part of the Greek Orthodox Church. By this latter term is understood, as the student has learned in medieval history, that religious body which separated from the Holy See in the eleventh century (1054). Other religions have very few followers. As the Slavs in Austria-Hungary were for the most part Catholics, religious difference formed a serious obstacle to union with their racial kinsmen in Serbia and Roumania.

PART XI: THE NEW AGE

CHAPTER XLIV

EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO AFRICA AND ASIA

WORLD COMMERCE AND IMPERIALISM

517. Increase in Population. — We have seen how in the first half of the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution rapidly transformed Europe into a busy world of mines, factories, and shops (§§ 311–318). The invention of new machinery constantly increased the amount and variety of industrial products. For a while these new products were used chiefly to increase the well-being of the home population. People began to dress better, to eat a greater variety of food, to spend more money on their own comfort and on articles of luxury, and to give their children more education.

Among the sciences that record marvelous progress in the nineteenth century, the science of medicine holds a prominent place. It has learned to recognize and to check almost innumerable causes of sickness, and has thus prevented disease and greatly decreased the rate of mortality. Its main achievements lie not so much in the invention of new cures and new medicines as in the education of the masses to a greater realization of the causes of disease, to a more healthful mode of living, and to habits of cleanliness. It has led also to greater care on the part of public authorities for the physical welfare of the citizens.

All these causes had one effect which has profoundly influenced modern conditions and history — an unprecedented increase in population. A greater abundance of food and of all other human needs, more varied opportunities for profitable employment, diminution of the danger to health, these and

other causes have cut down the mortality and increased the population of Europe so rapidly that during the nineteenth century almost every country doubled the number of its inhabitants.

518. Expansion of Industry and the Search for Markets. — The growth of population in turn provided both a labor supply and to some extent a market. Simultaneously time-saving and labor-saving machinery was constantly being invented and improved, and soon production reached a point where it greatly exceeded even the needs of the enlarged home population. Hence the manufacturers were compelled to seek foreign markets.

Moreover, the manufacturer, in order to produce his useful articles, needs a great amount of raw material, and of coal or water power, as well as a large number of skilled workmen. These various elements are not distributed in equal shares over all civilized lands. One country may have rich mines of coal and metals, but her soil and her climate may hinder her agriculture. Another has fertile lands which produce more than the needs of her people require. Still another lacks mines and good farms, but her people are naturally clever and patient and therefore fitted to produce the finest manufactured products.

Thus England, for example, has perhaps the richest coal mines in the world, but her metal mines cannot compare with those of America, and her farms would never feed her teeming millions. Germany mines coal and iron, but no copper and practically none of the precious metals. Switzerland almost completely lacks raw materials, and her beautiful mountains do not contain any coal. But she has an abundance of water power, and her people have a natural aptitude for the fine mechanical arts. Italy has no coal and iron but the most productive vineyards and the finest marble quarries in the world.

Such examples of the inequality of resources might be mentioned of any European country. An American studying Europe must keep this constantly in mind, for Divine Providence has endowed our country with such a variety of natural resources

that we depend on foreign lands for only a few of the necessities and comforts of life.

Thus the modern factory system often compelled manufacturers to go to foreign markets not only to sell their surplus products but to buy others which they could not obtain at home.

This unequal distribution of natural resources is of course nothing new. But in former times it was hard and often impossible to secure the products of distant lands, and so the development of industry was prevented. Modern improvements in communication have changed all that. The railroad has brought inland regions within easy reach of one another and of the seaports, and the steamship links together the most distant productive centers of the world. Transportation and communication have become so fast, secure, and cheap that we hardly stop to think of how many lands and how many nations contribute to our needs and our comfort. Perhaps the coffee you take at your breakfast comes from distant Brazil, the wool in your clothes from Australian sheep, the leather of your shoes from South Africa, the clock at home from the hands of a skilled Swiss watchmaker, and so on indefinitely.

Knowledge, too, is diffused more rapidly. The thoughts and discoveries of a lonely scholar by means of the printing press become the possession of millions. Current events in the most remote region of the globe can be followed by every man capable of reading his newspaper, almost as soon as they happen. When King Edward of England died in the night of May 6, 1910, the people of San Francisco read the news in their evening paper one hour later. Yet only a hundred years ago the people of Paris were for weeks in ignorance of the great disaster that had befallen Napoleon's army in the snows of Russia.

519. Good and Bad Effects of Modern Large-Scale Industry.

— It would seem to the casual observer that all these changes have only beneficial results. Our material well-being has certainly increased, our health is better protected. In former times local failures of crops only too often produced great hardship,

and even starvation, but with our modern means of transportation deficiency of foodstuffs is readily supplied and calamity averted. Our wishes and even our whims for change and novelty are easily gratified.

But there is a darker side to the picture, and modern history illustrates it only too well. This is the rivalry for markets. The highly developed industrial and commercial life of a country can be maintained only if there are sufficient markets abroad, where the surplus products can be sold at a profit. Hence the interested parties, private concerns as well as governments — and the latter often at the instigation of the former — will constantly try to secure such markets at any cost. In many cases civilized foreign countries offer good opportunities, but not always. Perhaps the article hitherto sent to a foreign country is now being produced in that country. Foreign governments try to develop home industries in order to strengthen the state, and to stifle outside competition they put high duties on imported goods which virtually exclude the competitor from abroad.

For these and similar reasons strong governments find it advantageous to create foreign markets by acquiring territory which they can easily reserve for their own trade alone, and which may also furnish the mother country with valuable raw materials. Hence the general scramble in the nineteenth century for colonies.

There are other reasons, real or alleged, for colonial enterprise. Thousands of emigrants annually leave their home countries in Europe to find elsewhere better means of subsistence, cheap land, chances for better employment, and so forth. Naturally, their home governments dislike to lose so many subjects whose taxes might enrich the national treasury and whose numbers might swell the ranks of the army. Hence the desire for colonies attractive enough to invite the surplus population of the mother country.

Colonial enthusiasts often used this argument to stimulate the national craving for oversea possessions, but the result

seldom justified the claim. Germany and Italy and France created colonial empires, but the German and Italian emigrants for the most part kept on seeking homes in North or South America, and Frenchmen preferred to stay at home.

Still another factor must be considered. The Industrial Revolution has produced, as we have seen, a new class of society, the capitalist, the man who has money to invest in any promising enterprise. Frequently larger returns are expected from investment abroad. Hence business and capital go to undeveloped lands abroad, open mines, build railroads, establish banks, and in a hundred other ways try to develop profitable business. Thus it has been estimated that British capitalists have invested over ten billions abroad; at least one fourth of Russia's industrial and mining enterprises are financed by foreigners. French, British, American, and Belgian capital operates Chinese mines and railroads. Many of the larger banking concerns in Brazil, Argentina, and other South American states are in the hands of foreigners. The rich Mexican oil wells bring large returns to investors in London and New York, and in the little state of Paraguay the greater part of the national revenue went for a while across the frontier to satisfy foreign creditors. The Netherlands also is an important lending nation, and before the War Germany had heavy investments in foreign enterprises.

It should, however, be noted that capital goes not only to backward countries, but wherever the prospects of big returns are good. Thus American money is invested in British enterprise and vice versa. The reason for this is obvious. The export of goods to certain countries may not be profitable on account of the high tariffs, but capital and its returns are not dutiable commodities. Frequently, therefore, a firm, instead of shipping its products to a foreign country, sets up branches and manufactures and sells the article there.

520. Imperialism. — These three tendencies, the desire for foreign markets, for lands where emigrants may settle, for opportunities to invest capital, are shaping the foreign policy of every

important European state. They explain why the great industrial nations embarked on what is generally termed a policy of imperialism. It is the policy of adding distant, mostly non-European, territories to their domains for the purpose of exploiting their resources, getting trade with the natives or with European settlers, and investing capital. Sometimes imperialism takes the form of outright annexation, as in the case of most European colonies in Africa. Sometimes it only establishes "protectorates" or "spheres of influence." This is a declaration which really means, "We are interested in this particular country. We do not take the responsibility of governing it just now, but we want peace and order in the land and shall therefore police it. Above all we want to keep out other rivals of the white race, for sooner or later we intend to annex it." Sometimes imperialism is content with "concessions" in undeveloped countries, that is, the exclusive right to develop mines, build railroads, extract raw materials, etc. in a particular district. Such concessions have been obtained by foreign financiers in South America and in China.

When lands inhabited by less civilized peoples are annexed, the new governments are of course interested in having the natives civilized or "Westernized." For when the natives learn to want Western conveniences, they become buyers in the home market, or at least they no longer make the colony unsafe for white settlers or merchants. Hence the governments of colonizing nations often favor the efforts of the missionaries. But the beneficial effects of such favors, sometimes meant sincerely, are almost neutralized by the example of the white settlers, whose "civilizing" influence is often limited to making the natives acquainted with Western vices. Sometimes, too, the white man would rather see the aborigines exterminated and so make room for the land-hungry immigrant. In North America, in Australia, and in New Zealand the natives have disappeared or are rapidly disappearing as "civilization" advances. Besides, the diversity of creeds, or lack of creed, does not impress

the native very favorably. All these evils more than counter-balance " favors " or the protection extended to the missionaries by selfish governments.

521. Results of the Greed for Wealth. — A little reflection on the conditions outlined in the previous paragraphs will make the student realize what a complicated situation has been created by modern industrial and commercial activity. The world has become one enormous intricate mechanism to a large extent interdependent. A change or disorder in one place will often be keenly felt by people thousands of miles away. Thus the raising of the import duty on one article may elsewhere throw thousands of men out of employment. A strike in a coal mine may bring misery to hundreds of factory workers. A revolution in a South American republic may ruin banking houses or industries in distant lands or, on the other hand, enrich speculators who with their loans made the victory of the successful party possible. In case of great wars, especially between maritime powers, these effects are all the greater, as one nation tries to injure the trade of another. Hence the enormous growth of navies to protect the sea-borne trade of the mother country and to destroy that of the enemy.

It is therefore not surprising that commercial and industrial interests frequently try to shape the policies of foreign countries, and on account of the vast sums at their disposal they sometimes succeed. Either the governments of foreign countries are approached directly or pressure is brought to bear on them by means of " public opinion," created or directed through the press or the great news agencies.

Such means are often very questionable and at best create distrust between one nation and another or between people and their government. A frank and open discussion of national policies abroad is much to be preferred. The situation is full of dangers. Competition is so keen, the interests not only of capitalists but also of the masses of workingmen and those depending on them are so intimately bound up with economic policy of other

nations, and human greed and human passions are so strong that it would be almost miraculous if objectionable means were not sometimes employed to influence the course of other nations. Here above all there is need of a return to the principles of justice and Christian charity. Much intriguing and much mutual suspicion and hatred could be avoided if our modern age were not so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of materialism

which subordinates everything to the acquisition of wealth and comfort.

This craving for markets and colonies is nowhere better exemplified than in the partition of Africa and in the commercial penetration of the backward regions of Asia. Hence we will have to take a brief survey of these two fields of European enterprise.



LORD KITCHENER

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

522. Fields for Exploitation.

— When the hunt for colonies began it had, after all, to confine itself chiefly to Africa and Asia.

Australia was already English. North America was held by the United States, England, and Mexico. South and Central America were protected beneath the shield of the Monroe Doctrine (§ 300). Africa, however, was largely unappropriated and sparsely inhabited. In Asia the stationary and apparently helpless empires of China, Indo-China, Turkey, and Persia invited attack.

The division of the vast continent of Africa was swift and, on the whole, peaceful. In 1870 only a few patches here and there on the coast were European; in 1891 the whole continent was

mapped by European claimants. For half a century France had been extending her sway over Algeria in the north. For nearly double that time England had held the Cape Colony in the South. Portugal ever since the sixteenth century had controlled Portuguese East Africa (on the lower Zambesi), and on the west coast Angola.

We have already seen how England acquired the two Boer republics (§ 416) in the south and Egypt in the north (§ 414). Originally the upper Nile valley had belonged to Egypt. But in the eighties, southern Egypt, the "Eastern Sudan," rose in rebellion. Fanatical Arabian Mohammedans under the leadership of the "Mahdi" annihilated several Anglo-Egyptian expeditions. Not until 1898 did English troops under General Kitchener reconquer the Sudan. This practically made the whole valley of the Nile British.



Ewing Galloway

DAVID LIVINGSTONE

523. Exploration of Interior Africa. — Between 1860 and 1880 various explorers pushed into the heart of "Darkest Africa" and brought glowing accounts of its resources which stirred the imagination of the world and hastened the partition of equatorial and southern Africa. David Livingstone, a famous Scotch traveler, traversed the continent for the first time by following the Zambesi River from its mouth to its source and emerged on the west coast. He also penetrated into the region of the great lakes where for a while he seemed lost completely. Another intrepid traveler, Henry Morton Stanley, was sent out to find Livingstone. He not only accomplished his task but completed the survey of the

great lakes. In subsequent expeditions he traced the course of the Congo River by following it from its source to its mouth. He explored too the territory drained by the tributaries of the Congo, and found one of the sources of the Nile.

524. The Founding of the Congo Free State. — The thrilling story of these exploits was read in every language of Europe, and Stanley himself urged upon business men of England, Belgium, France, and Germany the commercial value of his discoveries. He found a most willing listener in King Leopold II of Belgium. In 1876, at the suggestion of this enterprising monarch, the Congo International Association was organized to explore central Africa and to stop the horrible slave trade of the Arabian man hunters. In 1879 Stanley, in the service of Leopold and the Association, returned to the upper Congo and made there the beginnings of an organized state.

In 1884 Bismarck called an international congress to Berlin to discuss African affairs. As a result the "Congo Free State" was formed with a territory of one million square miles and with some thirty million inhabitants. For a while it was governed by a private company, whose irresponsible officials were guilty of horrible atrocities against the defenseless natives. An agitation against these misdeeds resulted, in 1908, in the Belgian government's taking over the Free State. It then became a Belgian colony (Belgian Congo), and the Belgian government is responsible for its administration.

525. Africa Divided Up. — The establishment of the Congo State and the Berlin conference were followed by the raising of the German flag in various parts of Africa (§ 452). A wild scramble for territory then began which quickly made the whole continent European, except Abyssinia and Liberia. The three foremost European powers in Africa were England, France, and Germany. Of these England always remained in the lead. Aside from small territories her sway extends over the whole Nile valley (the richest part of the continent), and over large territories in the south. Her ambition has been to unite her posses-



sions in the north and south ; but the Congo State and German East Africa were thrust between until 1919, when as one of the results of the Great War Great Britain obtained the German colony. The British merchant and soldier may now travel under the protection of his own flag through the whole length of the vast continent. An English railway, already far advanced, will eventually join Cairo and Cape Town and thus open all Africa to English commerce.

France would have liked to dominate the entire center of the continent south of the Sahara from Cape Verde to Abyssinia, but England blocked her on the upper Nile (§ 541). German ambitions in Southwest Africa were thwarted in like manner. Other European colonies belong to smaller states. Of these the Portuguese are the most extensive. But the poverty and maladministration of that state make it probable that some day they will be annexed by her more powerful rivals.

EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN ASIA

526. The occupation of Asia by Europeans at first proceeded more slowly than that of Africa, but it has moved with increasing rapidity in recent years. Central and northern Asia is Russian (§ 492). The great, densely populated peninsula of India, with adjoining Burma, is English. The southeastern peninsula, since 1885, is mainly French. The only independent states left, before the Great War, in this largest of the continents, were Turkish Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, Siam, and China.

Of these Afghanistan and Siam are merely small "buffer states," separating England from Russia on one side and from France on the other. Of recent years England has sought to preserve them as barriers to her rivals. Persia, too, became for a while almost a dependency of either England or Russia, according to the varying fortunes of those countries ; and in the closing years of the nineteenth century it seemed that even the ancient Chinese Empire had begun to go to pieces. In those same years two new actors appeared upon the stage of world

politics. A war between Japan and China and the Spanish-American War added the United States and Japan to the group of world powers interested in China.

527. The United States a World Power. — Until the year 1900 the United States found full scope for its energies in peopling its great territory and in developing its resources at home. Content with primacy on the American continents, it resolutely kept out of European complications. But the Spanish-American War (1898) left the United States in possession of the Philippines, and during the war it annexed Hawaii. Thus it held the mastery of the Pacific and was brought to the door of Asia. In particular, the United States is desirous of securing a fair chance for its trade with China, one of its important customers.

Americans, despite this change in our foreign policy, still desire, along with commerce, peace and honest friendship with foreign countries. But these acquisitions abroad put an end to our policy of isolation. "Isolation," said President McKinley, "is no longer possible or desirable. God and man have linked nations together." There are some who fear that this new policy will eventually endanger long-cherished American principles embodied in the Monroe Doctrine and in Washington's warning, in his Farewell Address, against "foreign entanglements." Others, however, refuse to share these apprehensions for our future.

528. The Rise of Japan. — Japan, until the middle of the nineteenth century, had kept herself sealed to the outer world. For more than two centuries, indeed, it had been a capital crime to hold communication with foreigners. But in 1853, Commodore Perry, under orders from the United States government, by a show of force secured the admission of American trade to certain Japanese ports. Other Western powers followed our example, and Japan began swiftly to exchange Oriental civilization for Western culture. Before the close of the century this transformation had been carried to a marvelous completion, at least in adopting the material achievements of the West. Army and navy, schools and industry, took on a modern character;

and in 1889 the liberal mikado (emperor) proclaimed a constitution which created a limited monarchy, with a parliament of two houses and a responsible ministry.

In 1894-1895 Japan and China engaged in a war over Korea. With amazing rapidity little Japan overcame her huge antagonist on land and sea. China agreed to cede the island of Formosa, the peninsula of Port Arthur commanding the Gulf of Chihli, and the kingdom of Korea. Russia, however, was already longing for these districts, and, backed by Germany and France, she forced Japan to renounce her gains upon the mainland. Japan was unprepared for war with these powers and was wise enough to yield, but she began at once to make ready, patiently and skillfully, for the struggle with Russia which was to come ten years later.

529. The Opening of China.

— In return for her intervention against Japan, Russia se-

cured from China the right to extend her Trans-Siberian railroad through Manchuria (§ 492) to Vladivostok. Then, in 1898, she obtained a lease on Port Arthur, the strongest fortress that China possessed. Roused by this advance of her rival, England at once demanded and obtained Weihaiwei, on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Chihli, to enable her to check Russian movements.

Somewhat earlier (§ 452), to obtain satisfaction for the murder of two missionaries, Germany had seized Kiaochow with a "sphere of influence" in Shantung; and now France occupied



PART OF THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

This was built about 200 B.C. to protect China proper against invasions of nomads from the northeast. It extended about 2000 miles.

the port of Kwangchow-wan. Still earlier, France had begun to annex in the far southeast (§ 434), the kingdoms of Annam, Tonkin, and Cochin China, and England had held the island of Hongkong ever since 1842; but the recent seizures commanded the approach to Peking (now Peiping) itself, and it began to look as if China were doomed to partition.

530. The Boxer Rebellion. — In 1900 the Chinese resentment at this prospect culminated in popular patriotic and fanatical uprisings which sought to exterminate the “Western barbarians.” The movement was organized by a secret society, the “Order of the Literary Patriotic Harmonious Fists” or Boxers, as European journalists named them. Missionaries and scattered Europeans were massacred and the foreign embassies themselves were besieged at Peking. The powers (the United States and Japan included) sent joint forces to relieve the beleaguered representatives. After horrible and almost incredible barbarities by the invading armies, especially by the Russians, Peking was taken and sacked and the European residents were rescued. Heavy indemnities and additional commercial privileges to the various powers were the only fruit of this Chinese attempt at independence.

531. The Russian-Japanese War, 1904-1905. — Largely through the insistence of the United States, no territorial indemnities were taken from China. During the campaign, however, Russia occupied Manchuria. She claimed that such action was necessary to protect her railroad there, and promised to withdraw at the return of peace. In 1902 this pledge was solemnly repeated. Before 1904, however, it was clear that such promises had been made only to be broken, and that Russia was determined not to loosen her grasp upon the coveted province. Moreover, she began to encroach upon Korea. To Japan this Russian approach seemed to imperil not only her commercial advantage in Korea, but her independence as a nation. After months of futile negotiations and a final ultimatum for Russian withdrawal, she resorted to war.

By diplomacy Japan had been assured that she would have only Russia to fight. England and Japan, in 1902, in a treaty designed to preserve the integrity of China, had agreed to aid each other in war if either were attacked by more than one power. Still the case for Japan looked dark. To most of the world, Russian advance in Asia seemed irresistible, and the little island-state was thought doomed to defeat.

The outcome of the war surprised the world. Russia fought at long range. She had to transport her troops and supplies across Siberia by a single-track railroad. Her railway service was of a low order (like all her engineering works), and its rolling stock was inferior and insufficient. Congestion of traffic and long delays at critical moments were the inevitable results. To be sure, it was supposed that immense supplies had already been accumulated at Port Arthur and in Manchuria, in expectation of war; but it proved that high officials had made away with the larger part of the money and that neither army nor navy was properly equipped. Inefficiency, corruption, lack of organization, were matched only by boastful confidence and foolish contempt for the foe. These drawbacks could not be counterbalanced by Russia's immense but unavailable resources nor by the desperate bravery and heroic endurance of her poorly led soldiery.

Japan, on the other hand, was thoroughly prepared. She had the most perfectly organized army, hospital service, and commissariat the world had ever seen. Her leaders were honest, patriotic, faithful, and always equal to the occasion; and the whole nation was animated by a spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice. By her admirable organization Japan was able, at critical moments, to confront the Russians with equal or superior numbers, even after a year of war when she had rolled back the battle line several hundred miles toward the Russian base.

At the outset, Japan could hope for success only by securing naval control of Asiatic waters. Russia had gathered at Port Arthur a fleet supposedly much stronger than the whole Japanese navy, but on February 8, 1904, Japan struck the first blow,

torpedoing several mighty battleships and cruisers. The rest of the Russian fleet was blockaded in the harbor; and to the end of the war, Japan transported troops and supplies by water almost without interference.

Korea was swiftly overrun, and on February 23 its government recognized a Japanese protectorate. The Russians in a great battle were driven back from the Yalu River, on the northern boundary of Korea, and Port Arthur was invested (May 28) by land as well as by sea. Seven months later (January, 1905) that fortress, boasted to be invulnerable, capitulated after terrible suffering and reckless sacrifice of life on both sides. Meanwhile, in September, 1904, the Japanese army had won a remarkable victory at Liaoyang, and soon afterward repulsed a desperate attack, driving the Russians back on Mukden, the capital of Manchuria.

In March, 1905, the battle of Mukden took place. It was the most tremendous military struggle the world had ever seen. It lasted fifteen days. The battle front extended a hundred miles, and a million men were engaged, with all the terrible, destructive agencies of modern science at their command. The Russians were completely routed and lost more than a hundred thousand men.

Russia's only chance was to regain command of the sea. During the winter of 1905, after a year of delays, an attempt had been begun. A huge fleet, far exceeding the Japanese navy in number and in size, but poorly equipped and miserably officered, set out on the long voyage from the Baltic around Africa and Asia. By a breach of strict neutrality on the part of France, it was allowed to rest and refit at Madagascar, and again at the French stations near southern China. In May it reached the Sea of Japan. There it was annihilated by the splendidly handled Japanese fleet, under Admiral Togo, in one of the greatest of the world's naval battles.

Both combatants secretly wished for peace. Russia still had enormous resources, but was distracted by unrest at home

(§ 503) and by a long series of defeats. Japan was near exhaustion and unequal to the task of advancing far into the vast territory of her enemy. President Roosevelt now tendered "his good offices" to secure peace. A meeting of envoys of the warring nations was arranged (August, 1905, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire), at which the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed. Japan's demands were exceedingly moderate, and she yielded even a part of these at President Roosevelt's urgent appeal for peace. Russia agreed (1) to withdraw from Chinese Manchuria, (2) to cede the railroad between Harbin and Port Arthur to China, (3) to recognize the Japanese protectorate in Korea, and (4) to cede to Japan the southern half of Sakhalin, an island formerly belonging to Japan but occupied by Russia in 1875. The indemnity, \$20,000,000, in no way reimbursed Japan for the cost of the war.

532. The most important results of the war were indirect. Russia was checked in her career of aggression in Europe and India, as well as in the Far East, and the failure of her despotic government gave her disgruntled subjects a chance for a revolution in society and politics (§ 503). The appearance of Japan, on the other hand, as one of the foremost "world powers," went far to check the European greed for Asiatic territory. It seems probable that Asia will hereafter be left to the Asiatics. This wish is as dear to the heart of the Far Easterners as the Monroe Doctrine is to the people of the United States.

CHAPTER XLV

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN 1871 AND 1914

EFFORTS TO PRESERVE WORLD PEACE

533. An Era of Peace Follows Napoleon I. — When the might of Napoleon was crushed at Waterloo, Europe entered on a prolonged period of international peace. The horrors of the bloody era 1789–1815 were for a long time so vividly present to the minds of peoples and governments that they recoiled from settling their differences by resorting to the “last argument of the king.” Moreover, as we have learned in a previous chapter, the industrial and commercial development of the nineteenth century had most intricately interwoven the needs and demands of the various states; and it was generally felt that war would injure the delicate mechanism to the detriment of all concerned. For these reasons many agencies were actively working for the continuation of peace.

534. The “Concert of Europe.” — International peace, then, was the ideal of many statesmen and of still more private individuals in the nineteenth century. Certain political writers and leaders acquired the habit of speaking of the “Concert of Europe” when they wished to formulate their hopes for general and permanent peace. The Christian nations of Europe, they said, were united as one family by the ties of religion, race, and a common civilization; and it behooved them to preserve public peace and tranquillity. Differences were to be settled by amicable discussion, territories were to be inviolable and treaties sacred.

The Holy Alliance was a fruit of this idea. We have seen in an earlier chapter how it was fathered and fostered by the well-

meaning and idealistic tsar of Russia, Alexander I, and how for a while it embraced nearly all Europe (§ 286). The Alliance deserves credit for having maintained international peace, for a while at least. After 1830 it ceased to function, but the idea of a concert of Europe long survived the Holy Alliance. Until the Crimean War of 1854 European nations refrained from waging war against one another, and even after Napoleon III had again roused the specter of war the concert was never wholly lost sight of. Statesmen in their official utterances continued to uphold it with more or less sincerity.

More earnest in their endeavor to prevent war were private individuals. Modern means of communication helped to multiply international societies and their influence. Problems of labor, of democracy, missionary effort, coöperation in large scientific undertakings were discussed in hundreds of meetings by representatives of the various civilized nations.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, when danger of war again became imminent, special peace societies came into being, which aimed to create a strong public sentiment against war and thus force the hands of statesmen and militarists. "Pacifists" or advocates of peace was the name usually given to the members of these societies. These pacifists denounced war as un-Christian, as harmful to business and civilization, and spoke of it as a relic of barbarism and a disgrace to our enlightened age. It means untold suffering to the laboring class, they argued, no matter what the outcome. Even the capitalist had better enlist his influence in the cause of peace, for war can only deprive him of his foreign markets and endanger his foreign investments.

535. Arbitration. — Naturally the Concert of Europe found its best supporters among the pacifists. When in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the danger of a great international war loomed large, the pacifists redoubled their efforts. It was in part due to their influence on public opinion that arbitration treaties became more common. By a treaty of arbitration

two nations agree to submit a point of dispute to a body of expert judges and to abide by their decision. An example of such agreements is the Washington Treaty of 1871 between the United States and Great Britain, whereby the two nations pledged themselves to let an impartial jury decide the dispute over the responsibility for the escape from England of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers. Since that time dozens of other cases have been settled in this peaceful and sensible manner.

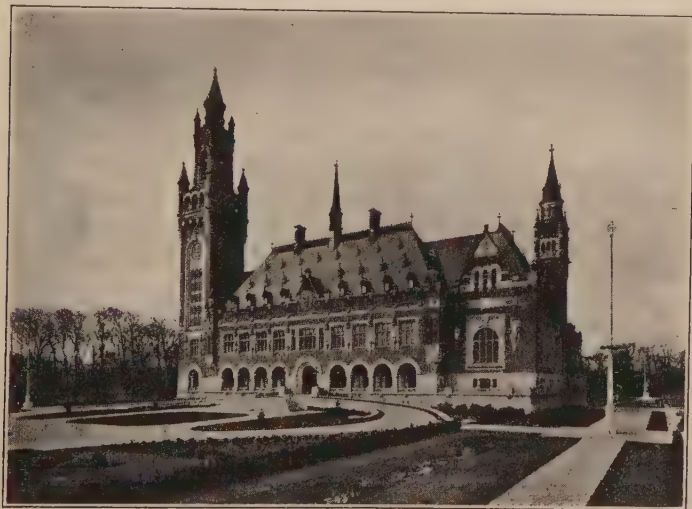
But all these arbitrations were made possible only by a special treaty which had to be negotiated in each case before arbitration could begin. This left much to be desired. The closing years of the nineteenth century saw a widespread agitation for general arbitration treaties by which nations should agree in advance to submit *all* their disputes to a court of arbitration. The agitation bore some fruit. In 1898 Tsar Nicholas II of Russia proposed a great conference of all civilized nations to meet the following year at The Hague, the capital of Holland. It was to consider how peace might be maintained indefinitely and how the tremendous military expenditures, which impoverished the people of practically every European state, could be reduced.

The conference met in due time, May 18, 1899. Every European state as well as the United States and Japan was represented. When, however, Russia proposed that there should be no increase of expenditures for army and navy for a fixed period of five years, the German delegate rose and declared that his country did not suffer from an intolerable burden and would not even discuss the arrest or reduction of armaments. It might have proved difficult to reduce the proposal of the tsar to concrete agreements, but it was due to this haughty announcement of the German representative that the question was not even discussed.

The Conference then turned its attention to other matters and achieved some notable results. It established a regular tribunal at The Hague to which international disputes could be referred. It also tried to render war less cruel by making an

agreement not to use poisoned bullets or soft-nosed bullets which inflicted needlessly torturing wounds ("dumdum" bullets), and to forbid the use of asphyxiating gas and the launching of explosives from balloons. But not all nations signed these promises.

In 1907 the tsar, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, summoned a second conference in which forty-four nations were



THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE, HOLLAND

represented. A proposal made by the United States to make the arbitration of certain matters obligatory was defeated. The pressing problem of the reduction of military and naval forces was shelved with a recommendation to the various governments "to resume the study of this question." A few more rules were adopted to make war more humane. The United States and Germany urged that in war private property at sea should be respected by the belligerents, but Great Britain declined.

536. Partial Failure of the Peace Conferences. — When these conferences began it was suggested that the Holy Father, the

one great power not identified with any international rivalry, should be represented. But Italy objected, and the suggestion was dropped. If any one could have given prestige and general esteem to the conference, it was the head of a world-wide union. He, more than any one else, would have enjoyed the confidence of the nations; for his subjects are everywhere, and he has at heart the welfare of all.

With the growing pacifist sentiment, a number of general arbitration treaties have been concluded, but upon closer examination they prove less satisfactory to real friends of peace than they seem at first sight. Nearly all of them except certain matters from arbitration, usually questions which touch "vital interests or national honor." And it is precisely these "vital questions," or rather projects of national ambition and schemes of aggrandizement disguised by fine phrases, which give rise to wars. Another difficulty in preventing wars is the absence of an authority strong enough to enforce the decisions of an international tribunal. In medieval times the popes at times could compel kings and nations to keep within law and justice by their spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict. But since European nations in the sixteenth century broke away from the authority of the Holy See, they recognize no common superior in things spiritual and moral, no really binding law, except that of their own selfish interests.

537. Roots of War. — If the pacifists indulged in roseate dreams of universal and lasting peace, basing their hopes on these peace conferences and peace treaties, they were doomed to bitter disappointment. Some of them undoubtedly preferred dreaming to a closer study of realities, and failed to see under their very eyes certain sinister signs that boded ill for the future. Three great obstacles stood — and still stand — in the way of permanent peace and a reign of international justice.

(1) *Nationalism.* — Through the nineteenth century, as we have pointed out repeatedly, runs an ever-growing feeling of nationalism. This nationalism was not merely a legitimate love

for one's country and its welfare, but narrow pride and a strong desire for its aggrandizement even at the expense of others. The nationalistic patriot of England, or Germany, or France, or Italy thinks it his duty to extol his country above all others. He is jealous of its greatness, sensitive of its "honor" and "vital interests," and ready to condemn the other side no matter what the cause of the dispute. For the maxim of former times, "The king can do no wrong," he now adopts the belief that "my country can do no wrong." This sort of "patriotism" is called jingoism. It is easy to understand how such a state of mind makes friendly arbitration of disputes extremely difficult.

To make matters more complicated, there were in nineteenth-century Europe several territorial questions which were considered so vital and so intimately bound up with national honor by the nations concerned, that they would not dream of submitting them to peaceful arbitration. Such was the question of Alsace-Lorraine, to the loss of which the French were never reconciled and which the Germans never thought of restoring. Such was the question of establishing an independent Poland. The Poles never for a moment ceased to hope for it, but their powerful neighbors could not bear the thought of surrendering their loot. The decay and dismemberment of the Turkish empire were likewise bound up with so many hopes and ambitions of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the dismembered fragments themselves that arbitration was out of the question.

We have learned that the principle of nationality proclaimed political union of peoples of the same language, traditions, and culture, and consequently the disruption of states composed of several nations. Now wars and other historical accidents have in some parts of Europe mixed peoples in such a manner that it is impossible to draw political boundaries along strictly national lines. The solution lies in an attempt of different peoples to live peacefully together in mutual toleration without trying to force the language and culture of one people upon another, but national pride forbids this.

Imperialism, too, the ambition of seeing the national flag float over backward countries and of exploiting these countries, is another source of international rivalry where pride and selfishness prevent friendly settlement of differences.

(2) *Militarism*, or the maintenance of large armies and navies, is another danger to permanent peace. In former times, down to the eighteenth century, armies were as a rule recruited from volunteers and mercenaries. Often the army of one country contained soldiers from several others. The leaders of the French Revolution and Napoleon I, in their long wars with the rest of Europe, resorted to conscription, that is, the enrollment of all able-bodied men. It was by this means that they found it possible to oppose the combined armies of the Allies with equal numbers. After the fall of Napoleon conscription was dropped for a while until Prussia reintroduced it in 1862. The Prussian victories of 1864, 1866, and 1870 (§ 370 ff.) convinced other countries of Europe of the advantages of conscription, and by 1875 they had adopted it. The cost of the huge armies and navies weighed heavily on the taxpayer, and to convince the citizens of the need of their sacrifices, a spirit of fear and jealousy was fostered until Europeans from childhood on were accustomed to see in their neighbors across the boundary nothing but greedy and hateful enemies. Europe seemed to an outsider an armed camp, ready for battle at a moment's notice. It was but natural that the professional soldiers, the officers and staffs of these mighty armies, felt the desire of giving their schemes and engines of destruction a trial in actual war. Naturally, too, those who profited most by these military preparations, the great munition manufacturers and army contractors, secretly welcomed war, as it would swell their profits.

(3) *International anarchy*, or lawlessness between nations, is one of the deepest causes of war. We know what would happen if our country were without law, government, and police. No one would feel secure in life and property, and every one would provide himself with a revolver and other weapons to defend his

real or imaginary rights, and to avenge real or imaginary wrongs. Under such conditions, when every one takes the law into his own hands, the worst elements in the community have a chance to achieve their ends at the expense of the others.

Such a state of affairs exists in a large measure between nations. To be sure, they all talk glibly of international law, the sanctity of treaties, and so forth. But international law consists mainly of treaties and precedents. The former may be unjust, wrung from a defeated nation by cruel victors, and the latter are often merely repeated practices of a powerful state which weaker states could not resist. Who would assert, for instance, that the international agreements of the Congress of Berlin (§ 509) which put the Christians of Macedonia back under the yoke of the sultan were just and reasonable, or that the rules of naval warfare interfering with the commerce of neutrals were not made only for the benefit of the big naval powers? Moreover, many questions have not been settled by treaties, and the interpretation of many other points is a matter of dispute. Even if every question were settled, where is the authority to force the great world powers to observe these treaties? International law is custom rather than law, because it has no real sanction such as the civil law has. The great powers often recognize their own interests as the only law.

In the second part of this chapter we shall study the various alliances and secret understandings that between 1870 and 1914 divided Europe into hostile camps and eventually led to the Great War. Let the student remember that the motives underlying these secret activities of the diplomats sprang from those obstacles to permanent peace which we have just outlined.

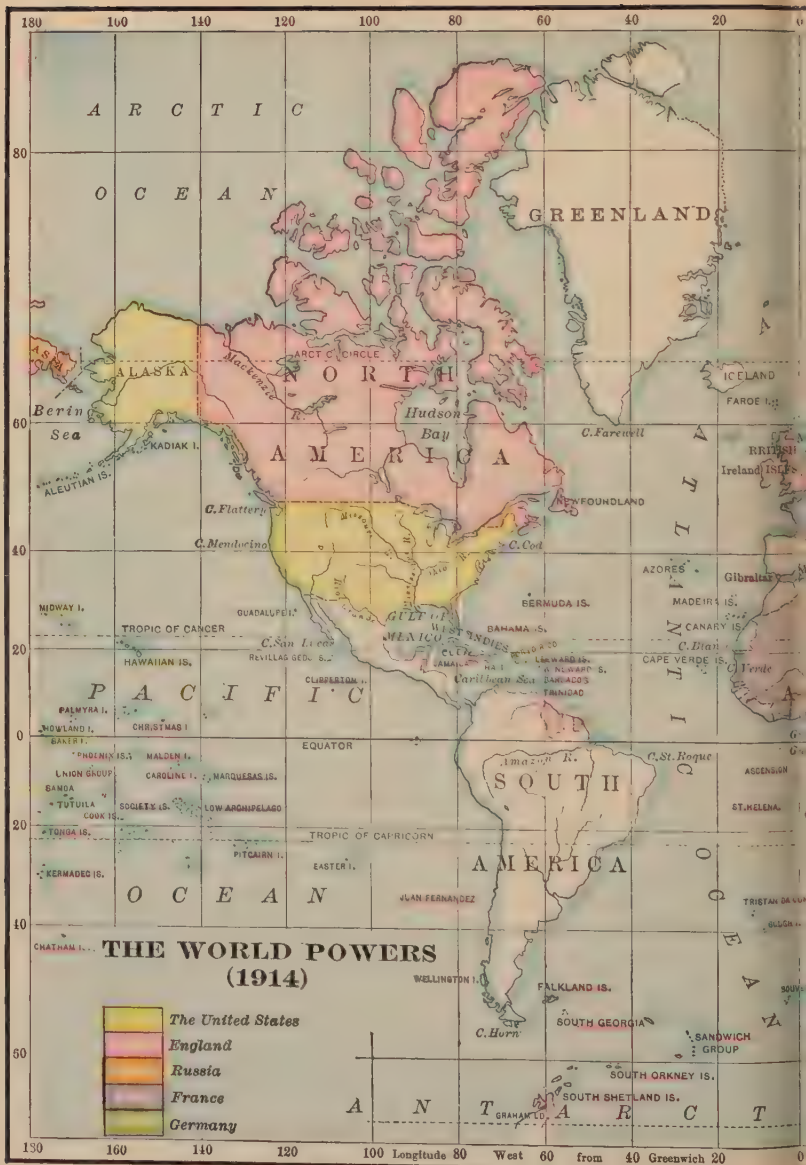
ALLIANCES

538. Germany and Her Neighbors. — The whole system of alliances as it had existed in the early nineteenth century was recast after 1870, because of the advent of two new powers, the German Empire and the Kingdom of United Italy. Before

1871 central Europe consisted of a large number of petty states which no one feared and on which more powerful neighbors sometimes entertained aggressive designs. In that year the strong new German Empire came into being, and for the next nineteen years its destinies were guided by its astute maker, the Count (later Prince) von Bismarck.

Bismarck had just defeated France and imposed harsh terms of peace (§ 377). He knew that France would never forget and forgive but would attempt a revision as soon as opportunity came. He had no reason to fear France alone, but the thought of a possible alliance of this enemy with another powerful state gave him nightmares. Hence the principal aim of his diplomacy was to prevent such an alliance and to find allies for himself strong enough to meet any possible combination. Throughout his chancellorship he remained on fairly good terms with Great Britain. In the Franco-Prussian War he insisted that the German armies carefully observe the neutrality of Belgium, knowing full well that this was an important point with British statesmen and British public opinion. For the same reason, not to entangle himself with England, he long refrained from acquiring colonies and at last yielded only reluctantly to the pressure of German explorers and merchants.

Russia at first was disposed to be friendly. The tsar felt that imperial Germany had much more in common with Russia than republican and revolutionary France. His ambitions in the Balkans and in central Asia were likely to clash with those of England, and it seemed wise to be on good terms with Germany. Bismarck encouraged these sentiments, and on the occasion of a meeting in Berlin of Emperor William I with Francis Joseph of Austria and Tsar Alexander II, in 1872, he spoke so emphatically of the intimate relations between the three empires that the press everywhere began to talk of the "Three Emperors' League" as the most powerful combination in Europe. We know now that no formal written agreement was concluded, but for a while the appearance of such a treaty served Bismarck's purposes just as well.





539. The Triple Alliance. — The good understanding with Russia lasted only six years. In 1878 the tsar suffered a severe diplomatic defeat in the Congress of Berlin (§ 509), while Austria-Hungary obtained Bosnia-Herzegovina. As Bismarck had been the president of the congress, the tsar, rightly or wrongly, laid the blame at his door and henceforth became a very sullen member of the Three Emperors' League.

To guard against any possible Russian hostility, Bismarck in the following year, October, 1879, concluded a formal alliance with Austria. Already in 1866, during the war with Austria (§ 372), he had looked forward toward such a union, and therefore had imposed on Austria rather lenient terms of peace. The treaty of 1879 was at first secret, but when revealed later on it was found to contain pledges of mutual assistance against Russia and a promise of benevolent neutrality on the part of Austria in case the war between Germany and France should be renewed.

Bismarck, however, did not give up all hope of friendship with Russia. Beset by the constant fear that Russia might drift into the arms of France, he used all his skill to avert such a calamity. When Alexander II in 1881 was killed by the Nihilists (§ 501), he at once made use of the change of government to renew with Alexander III the Three Emperors' League. This time the three emperors promised one another in writing benevolent neutrality in case any one of them should become involved in a war with a fourth power. Not content with this partial security, Bismarck went further, and in 1887 Germany entered into a secret agreement alone with Russia by which each bound itself not to assist any power in an attack upon the other.

As the years went on it became increasingly difficult for Bismarck to maintain friendship with both Austria and Russia. The reason for this must be sought in the Balkans. We have seen how Russia always considered herself the natural heir to certain parts of decaying Turkey. In the Balkans, in particular, she tried to expand her influence by assisting the various Chris-

tian nationalities, her kinsmen in race and religion, in their struggle against the sultan. For a while Austria looked on indifferently. But when in 1878 the Russian victories over the Turks freed many of these peoples and enabled them to set up independent states, Austrian statesmen grew alarmed. For these states just beyond Austria's southern boundary were Slavic in race and sympathies and looked upon Russia as their natural ally. The tsar and with him the Russian Pan-Slavists (§ 497) were only too glad to respond to these sentiments.

Now, as the student has learned in the chapter on Austria-Hungary (§ 458), the majority of the inhabitants of that empire were themselves Slavic. And their kinsmen in the Balkans made no secret of their hope one day to annex the Slavic portions of the Hapsburg dominions and to have the assistance of Russia in doing it. The Serbians began to fraternize with their brothers in Bosnia-Herzegovina and southern Hungary, and the Roumanians with the people of their language in the southeastern corner of the empire, Transylvania. Austrian statesmen, therefore, thought it their duty to prevent the growth of the Balkan states and to checkmate Russian schemes of expansion in the peninsula.

Bismarck fully realized that sooner or later he would have to choose between Russia and Austria. Their conflicting ambitions in the Balkans made membership in the same alliance impossible. To offset the possible loss of Russia he turned to Italy. Italian statesmen were well disposed towards Germany. It was Bismarck who, in 1866, had made it possible for them to annex Venetia (§ 372). Their attack upon the Papal States and their occupation of Rome in 1870 (§ 455) had, likewise, met with the hearty approval of Bismarck. When in 1881 France occupied Tunis, the Italian people were furious. Italian imperialists had for some time looked upon Tunis, the ancient Carthage, just across the narrow arm of the Mediterranean which separates Sicily from Africa, as an appropriate field of colonization. But Italy, being without an ally, felt too weak to interfere and

sullenly submitted. To strengthen herself for the future she approached Bismarck, who received her with open arms.

In 1882 a treaty of alliance was signed between Germany, Austria, and Italy, whereby Germany and Italy promised each other assistance if France should attack one or the other. Moreover, if one of the three should be attacked by two or more powers the others were to lend active help. This is the famous Triple Alliance which lasted until the outbreak of the Great War in 1914.

However, it suffered from the same defects as the Three Emperors' League. As long as Italy looked upon certain Italian-speaking provinces of Austria as "Unredeemed Italy" (§ 454) and when she began to entertain designs on the eastern coast of the Adriatic (§ 514), there was bound to arise distrust between the two partners. For some time, however, Bismarck had reason to be pleased with his handiwork. France was isolated. England was neutral. The rest were either allied or friendly. Germany and its astute chancellor held the leadership on the continent.

540. The Dual Alliance. — In 1890 Bismarck quarreled with the impetuous young emperor, William II, and resigned. His nightmare, an alliance between his powerful eastern and western neighbors, then came true. William and the new chancellor refused to renew the secret treaty of 1887 with Russia. This refusal did away with what was left of the Three Emperors' League. Russia thereupon drew closer to France. For years influential men on both sides had been working for an alliance between the two. The Russian government as well as private citizens had borrowed large sums from French investors for the development of Russian railroads, mines, and industries. Russian and French officers coöperated in equipping and modernizing the armies of the tsar. French and Russian squadrons exchanged visits and were welcomed enthusiastically. In 1893 the two governments signed a very secret agreement whereby they pledged each other mutual assistance in case of war with

the Triple Alliance. The existence of such a treaty was announced two years later, but only in 1918 did its exact terms become known. The Triple and the Dual Alliance split Europe into two hostile sides, watching each other's slightest movement and straining to the utmost their resources in men and money to be ready instantly for a possible clash.

541. The Fashoda Incident. — England for a long time kept aloof from these continental entanglements, in accord with her traditional policy. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century it seemed at times as if Great Britain and France would renew their eighteenth-century rivalry over colonial supremacy. The former with fear and jealousy beheld the rapid advance of the latter in North Africa (§ 525).

First there were altercations over the British occupation of Egypt, and when in 1898 General Kitchener proceeded to reconquer the Sudan (the upper Nile region), matters reached a crisis. A French explorer, Colonel Marchand, by a daring march crossed the heart of Africa, and under orders from his home government planted the French flag at Fashoda, a swampy post on the upper Nile. A British force was rushed to the spot and its commander curtly ordered the Frenchmen to leave the post. Marchand refused to take down the flag except by orders of his government. When the news reached Paris and London excitement ran so high that war seemed inevitable. But wiser counsel prevailed in Paris and France gracefully gave way.

542. The Entente Cordiale. — The man who advised surrender was Théophile Delcassé, the French minister of foreign affairs from 1898 to 1905. An ardent supporter of the Dual Alliance and an unrelenting enemy of Germany, he had come to believe that his country needed in addition to Russia the support of another great power, if she was to see the fulfillment of what every patriotic Frenchman hoped, the defeat of Germany and the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine.

Great Britain was to be that power. Accordingly, after the Fashoda crisis was over, he worked for a better understanding

with England on every question that might cause friction. He succeeded, and in 1904 France and England concluded a series of treaties. Among other matters they agreed that England should have a free hand in Egypt and the Nile valley, while France might look upon Morocco in northwestern Africa as her own sphere of interest. From year to year the relations between the two great western powers became more intimate so that diplomats applied to it the name *Entente Cordiale*, a cordial understanding. This entente was not an alliance, as there was no written agreement by which they promised each other military help against a third party, but it bore a close resemblance to it. The parties to an entente declare in effect: "We two understand each other so perfectly that we are ready for an alliance at a moment's notice."

543. Hostility between England and Germany. — In spite of Delcassé's skill, he probably would not have succeeded so well had he not been helped by a growing estrangement between England and Germany. More than once, before 1900, a closer approach and even an alliance were discussed by English and German statesmen. Each time, however, the negotiations broke down over conflicting interests and mutual distrust.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the gulf between the two widened from year to year. British imperialists — and most of the time the party in power belonged to that class — were filled with apprehension at the growth of German industry and commerce. British markets seemed to be threatened by the German manufacturer and trader. While, for instance, during the last three decades of the previous century the production of iron increased in England by about fifty per cent, that of Germany registered a growth of over six hundred per cent. For cotton goods and other merchandise similar figures might be quoted.

Above all, German enterprise in Asia Minor created much ill feeling. In the nineties a closer understanding began to form between the Kaiser and the sultan. This friendship enabled

German capitalists to gain valuable concessions and privileges from the Turkish government. They invested heavily in schemes to develop the long-neglected regions of Syria and Mesopotamia, and finally, in 1903, obtained permission for a gigantic railroad project. The new railroad was to connect the roads near Constantinople with the Persian Gulf and thus open a shorter route to India. It was planned to connect eventually with lines through the Balkans and central Europe, terminating at Berlin. A glance at the map will show that the Berlin-to-Bagdad railroad, as it was called, would have been a dangerous rival to the Suez Canal. The English, however, laid claim to a sphere of interest on the Persian Gulf and refused the Germans a harbor in that region.

Far more serious was the *naval rivalry* between the two nations. Down to the beginning of the present century Germany had never been a considerable sea power. But after 1900 William II and Tirpitz, his chief of the admiralty, began to insist in season and out of season that "Germany's future lay on the sea," that "Germany must have a navy second to none." The Reichstag came under the spell of the big-navy talk and voted the necessary sums. Forthwith the construction of powerful battleships and cruisers began. England, the strongest sea power of Europe, considered these measures directed against herself and took up the challenge. Soon the two nations were engaged in a desperate race at enormous expense to outdo each other in constructing more and more powerful ships. Several attempts to come to an agreement as to the ratio which the two fleets should bear to each other came to nought, chiefly because William II could not bear the idea of interference with his pet project.

Personal differences and dislikes added to the ill feeling. Queen Victoria, who was the Kaiser's maternal grandmother, had been on excellent terms with the Hohenzollern family and in full sympathy with Germany's growth. Her son Edward, however, who followed her in 1901, did not share this admiration

for the German ruler and for German achievements, but preferred France and its elegant capital where he had spent much of his time. During the Boer War (1899-1902) the British were offended by the sympathy of the German people for the Boers. Shortly before it began, the Kaiser had aroused their wrath by sending congratulations to the president of the Boer republic because the latter had succeeded in stopping the invasion of an armed band of Englishmen "without appealing to the aid of friendly powers." Naturally, England could think of only one power that might render assistance to the Boers — Germany.

Even before her reconciliation with France, England in 1902 had concluded an alliance with Japan which safeguarded her possessions in the Far East. France, on her part, in the same year entered into very secret agreements with Italy. The latter was assured that France would not object if Italy should find it "necessary" to annex Tripoli, and Italy in turn promised neutrality in a possible clash between France and Germany. This of course was a breach of the Triple Alliance and made Italy practically useless to that combination.

544. Accord between Britain and Russia. — Throughout the nineteenth century Russia and Great Britain had seldom been on good terms. Russian and British schemes of imperialism clashed in Persia, India, and China. Russian autocracy had always been particularly hateful to Englishmen and Russian political exiles had often found a refuge in London. A change came after the Russian-Japanese War of 1904-1905 (§ 531). Russia seemed so much weakened by that disaster that nothing was to be feared from her. And when the Russian government introduced the Duma and some other democratic features (§ 503) the English press applauded vigorously.

What to several generations had seemed unthinkable happened in 1907. Russia and Great Britain concluded a convention by which the chief outstanding difficulties in Persia and central Asia were removed and their respective spheres of interest determined. The Anglo-Russian Entente was a fact. As France

was already allied to Russia and as the Anglo-French Entente had been accomplished in 1904, the Triple Entente was complete. As time went on these friendly agreements were supplemented by informal arrangements concerning military and naval matters in order to be prepared for a possible conflict between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance.

INTERNATIONAL CRISES

545. The First Moroccan Crisis. — With all the great powers of Europe divided into two hostile camps and with every one entertaining ambitious schemes of expansion or commercial exploitation in the Balkans, the Near East, the Far East, and Africa, dangerous conflicts were almost inevitable. In fact, more than once during the last decade before the Great War the two groups of powers were on the brink of war.

In 1905 such a crisis arose over Morocco. As we have seen, France by her entente with England was to have a free hand in that unappropriated corner of Africa. Morocco was frequently convulsed by civil war between claimants to the throne, and French merchants complained to their mother country about the insecurity of their interests. The French government intervened and soon began to treat that country as a French protectorate. Suddenly Germany protested loudly, claiming that the status of Morocco as an independent state could not be changed without her consent. France, thus threatened, and knowing that her ally Russia had not yet recovered from the Japanese War, had to agree to an international conference at Algeciras (Spain). This conference reasserted the independence of the Moorish sultan, but gave France extensive police powers.

546. The Dispute over Bosnia-Herzegovina. — In 1908 Austria-Hungary suddenly (though with the secret consent of the Russian minister of foreign affairs) surprised the world with the declaration that the temporary occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (§ 509 *b* and § 513) was to be permanent. Angry protests of Serbia were supported by Russian public opinion. Then

Germany put herself "in shining armor" on the side of her ally. Both sides began to mobilize troops, but at the last moment Russia acquiesced in the annexation, overawed by Germany's strength and weakened by domestic disturbances. The matter was, however, not forgotten. Russian prestige in the Balkans was not to suffer a second time.

547. The Second Moroccan Crisis. — In 1911 trouble over Morocco again very nearly hurled Europe into a world war. Frequent disturbances there had given France a chance to exercise her police power so energetically that there was little left of the independence of Morocco. When finally French troops occupied the capital, a German warship sailed to the Moroccan port of Agadir and the German government announced its intention of staying there as long as the French held the capital. Great Britain hinted to Germany that she would support France.

The press in all three countries recklessly spoke of war, but at the last moment a compromise averted that calamity. Germany had to declare that she was no longer interested in Morocco and received in turn a strip of land from the French Congo which gave her colony in Kamerun access to the Congo River.

But in Germany an arrogant war party declared it a German humiliation, since France was left in sole possession of Morocco, and demanded stronger action in the future. In France and England statesmen and people were angered at the bold way in which Germany had tried to humble them before the world and maintained that Germany was not entitled to any satisfaction at all.

548. The Balkan Imbroglio. — In 1912-1913 Europe was still closer to a general war. Those were the years of the victorious struggle of the Balkan states against the remaining Turkish power in Europe but also of their mutual quarrels over the division of the spoils (§§ 514-515). When Austria-Hungary forbade Serbia to annex the Turkish territories that would have given her access to the Adriatic, Russia promptly came to the side of

her little Slavic friend and made military preparations. Austria did the same.

Luckily Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, managed to arrange a series of compromises which prevented the worst. This time Germany held back and even warned Austria, and the peace of Europe obtained another short lease of life.

549. Growth of the Feeling that War Was Inevitable. — These incidents increased ill feeling and unrest throughout Europe. It was more and more generally felt that the precarious peace would not last much longer. Journalists, soldiers, and imperialists everywhere loudly complained that their respective countries had been humbled by these compromises and that they had been unjustly thwarted in their legitimate ambitions. The last two years before the Great War witnessed a feverish preparation for the conflict. Germany added over 200,000 to her standing army. France extended the term of military service from two to three years. Russia provided for an annual increase of her army by 135,000 men. Austria and Italy made similar efforts. England greatly augmented her expenditures for the navy.

Yet there were men who hoped against hope. Seeing the enormous increase in armies and navies and picturing to themselves the frightful cost in blood and treasure of a world war, they thought that the very magnitude of such a disaster would restrain the nations. But suddenly, in July, 1914, Europe plunged into the most terrible of all wars and emerged from it weakened and exhausted as never before.





CHAPTER XLVI

THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918

OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT WAR

550. The Eve of the War. — Despite the strained relations between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, early in 1914 a few hopeful signs of better international feeling appeared. Some leading men both in England and in Germany realized that the interests of their countries demanded a peaceful settlement of their difficulties. The questions of the Bagdad railroad (§ 543) and the development of Asia Minor were on the point of being adjusted, and the first steps were taken in an agreement for limitation of armaments. It almost seemed as if the English people had come to accept the idea of a strong German navy and as if the Germans had learned to appreciate the reasons why the British navy must be supreme. But the hopes built on these negotiations were rudely shattered by the sudden outbreak of the Great War on July 28, 1914.

551. The Assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. — On June 28, 1914, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, nephew of Emperor Francis Joseph and heir to the Hapsburg throne, was murdered, with his wife, at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. This foul crime caused sorrow and indignation everywhere in the Dual Monarchy. Many hopes for a better future had been built on the murdered prince. His manly character and solid piety endeared him to the Catholic population, while his vigorous patriotism, energy, and administrative ability seemed to guarantee the continued existence of the Dual Monarchy.

Moreover, he was believed to favor a special project which would perhaps have been a radical cure for the racial difficulties

of Austria-Hungary. This project was to change the Dual Monarchy into a Triple Monarchy in which the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croats, and the Slovenes would enjoy a share in the government of the state equal to that of the Magyars (§ 457).

The Serbs, however, attributed to him the hostile attitude of Austria against Serbia since 1908, and they considered him their special enemy and an obstacle to the realization of their national aspirations. From 1908 to 1914 they organized secret societies, especially in the universities, and conducted a propaganda in Bosnia for the purpose of fostering in that province a movement for annexation to Serbia. Austria's refusal in 1912 (§ 514) of a Serbian harbor on the Adriatic served only to intensify Serbian hatred of Austria.

An inquiry into the murder of the archduke, set on foot by the Austrian government, revealed the facts that the assassins (two attempts had been made by two different persons) were natives of Bosnia but members of a Serbian secret society for disseminating pro-Serb propaganda, and that they were abetted by officials of this society who were at the same time state officials of Serbia. In Austria people generally believed the assassination to be the result of plotting on the part of the Serbian government. A secret agent of the Austrian government investigated the matter, but reported that nothing could be found to compromise the Serbian government. However, the Count von Berchtold, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, kept the report to himself and permitted the belief in Serbia's guilt to spread. Facts have since come to light which make it difficult to maintain Serbia's innocence, but at the time Austria failed to furnish proof.

552. The Austrian Ultimatum. — For three weeks after the murders at Sarajevo the Austrian government remained silent. Although this inactivity led many to believe that the crisis was over, it is now known that drastic action against Serbia was being planned. Germany, Austria's ally, though ignorant of the pre-

cise nature of these plans, secretly gave her a free hand and promised support. On July 23, Austria presented an ultimatum to Serbia, couched in the most peremptory terms. It stated that Austria had been compelled, in order to put an end to the intrigues which formed a perpetual menace to the tranquillity of the monarchy, to abandon her attitude of patient forbearance and to demand effective guarantees from the Serbian government. As effective guarantees of good behavior, Austria demanded that Serbia suppress anti-Austrian publications and societies, dismiss such officials as the Austrian government would charge with hostile propaganda, "accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian government for the suppression of the subversive movements directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy," and signify unconditional acceptance of these and other demands within forty-eight hours.

Serbia agreed to all these demands, except that of admitting Austrian officials to participate in the Serbian investigation, and offered to submit even this point to the Hague Tribunal or to a conference of the representatives of the great powers. Austria wished, not peaceful settlement, but war, to end once and for all Serbian designs on her territory. She at once severed diplomatic relations with Serbia and, *July 28, declared war.*

553. The Great Powers Enter the War. — As soon as the Austrian ultimatum became known, several statesmen and diplomats made frantic efforts to bring about a settlement without recourse to arms. They saw that Serbia would not accept its harsh terms and that Russia, the traditional champion of the Balkan states, would stand by Serbia. Between the delivery of the ultimatum and the first declaration of war, Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, tried to induce Austria to extend the time limit and to bring about a mediation of the great powers.

Germany refused to coöperate, maintaining that the matter concerned Austria alone. When actual fighting commenced,

Russia mobilized all her forces, and Grey made a last attempt to avert the catastrophe. At the same time Germany was informed of the determined attitude of Russia. She had perhaps hoped that, as in 1908, Russia would recoil from the conflict. When this hope proved false she consented at the last moment to issue a warning to her ally, Austria. But the latter refused to stop her advance into Serbia, and Russia moved her troops toward the German as well as the Austrian boundary. Then, on August 1, Germany, fearing to give her adversary the advantage of time, declared war on Russia.

A war with Russia was practically certain to bring France into the field. Hence Germany at once asked France what she proposed to do and gave her eighteen hours to reply. The French government returned an evasive answer and ordered general mobilization. Whereupon Germany, August 3, declared war against France.

Germany's military leaders had for years considered the possibility of war simultaneously on the eastern and western frontiers and had planned first to defeat France and then to turn with their full force against the mightier but slower armies of Russia. In order to avoid the loss of time which the forcing of the powerful line of fortresses along the French frontier might have entailed, the German general staff had decided years ago to violate the neutrality of Belgium, guaranteed to that little country by the London treaty of 1839 (§ 309). Several strategic railroads converging toward the Belgian boundary had long ago awakened suspicion of German plans. These suspicions now proved correct.

On August 2, Germany issued an ultimatum to Belgium giving her twelve hours to decide whether she would permit the German troops to cross Belgian territory on their way to northern France. If she consented, Germany promised to respect her sovereignty and territorial integrity; if not, she would be treated as an enemy state and her future would be left "to the decision of arms." The Belgian government replied in the most dignified manner

that, since Germany together with the other powers had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, the Belgian army would resist any attempt to violate her frontiers. At the same time Belgium appealed to Great Britain to assist her in upholding her neutrality.

From the beginning of hostilities it seemed very unlikely that England would stand aside in a general continental conflict. Her interests and her sympathies alike were on the side of France. The government had even warned Germany that in a general European war it could not promise neutrality. The day before the German declaration of war on France, the English cabinet assured the French government that if the German fleet attacked the French coast it would have to face the British navy. Two days later when the German ultimatum to Belgium became known and when the further news was added that German troops had already crossed the Belgian frontier, the British Parliament resolved on war.

In a last interview of the British ambassador with the German chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, the latter expressed his bitter disappointment with Great Britain and reproached her for going to war just for a word, "neutrality," a word which in wartime had so often been neglected — just "for a scrap of paper." This contemptuous reference to a solemn international obligation did much everywhere to estrange public opinion from Germany.

Japan, England's ally, soon followed with a declaration of war against Germany, August 15, but after having taken the German colony of Kiaochow practically withdrew from the war. Turkey, who feared Russian designs on her territory, made a secret alliance with the Central Powers and openly entered the war October 29. Italy declared herself neutral despite her membership in the Triple Alliance. That alliance, she insisted, obliged her to assist her partners only if they were the defensive victims of an attack. But in the present war, Italy maintained, they were the aggressors.

554. The Conflict Widens. — Thus within three months after the ultimatum to Serbia, the Central Powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, were face to face with a coalition of Russia, France, England, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro (who had made Serbia's cause her own), and Japan.

Italy had declared herself neutral because she realized that her entrance into the war on the side of the Central Powers exposed her long coast line to the combined attacks of the English and French fleets, that it would paralyze her commerce and endanger her colonies. Moreover, her treaty of 1902 with France (§ 543) had made it highly improbable that she would ever take up arms against that country. As the war progressed the Allied Powers made every effort to bring Italy over to their side, while the Central Powers struggled frantically to keep her neutral. Both sides offered compensation but the Allies were in a position to offer more. The hope of obtaining the "unredeemed" provinces from Austria (§ 454) and promises of large strips on the eastern coast of the Adriatic induced Italy to enter into a formal alliance with the Entente Powers and to declare war on Austria, May 23, 1915. The formal break with Germany followed later.

In the Balkans the outbreak of the Great War aroused national passions to the highest pitch. With Serbia, Montenegro, and Turkey involved, every state felt that it had something to hope or to fear from the outcome. The bitterness between Serbia and Bulgaria, the fruit of the treaty of Bucharest (§ 515), finally determined the Bulgarians to cast in their lot with the Central Powers, October 11, 1915. The diplomats of the Allied Powers had hoped to the last to win Bulgaria over to their side. They were more successful with Roumania, as she, like Italy, coveted Austrian territory. The rich province of Transylvania in the southeastern corner of Hungary was inhabited by people partly of Roumanian stock. In the hope of obtaining this province Roumania, on August 27, 1916, declared war on the Central Powers.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR

555. The Western Front to 1917. — The main forces of the Germans advanced into France in three divisions: One marched through Belgium, another through Luxemburg towards Verdun, and a third from Metz towards Nancy. The little Belgian army, however, offered such heroic resistance that the German advance through that country was delayed for ten days. Thus France and England gained time to prepare for the onslaught. But the Belgian fortresses, unsupported as they were by natural barriers, could not long resist the heavy German artillery.

After their fall Kluck, the able German commander of the western army, marched rapidly towards Paris. Just north of the French capital he swerved east, probably with the intention of enveloping the French and English forces stationed along the Marne River. The second German army had, in the meantime, advanced through Luxemburg and along the valley of the Meuse to join hands with Kluck.

The French commander-in-chief, General Joffre, who had been retreating, decided at this point to make a halt and give battle. It was the famous battle of the Marne. Quietly, new forces had been collected on Kluck's western flank. The latter seems to have underestimated the danger threatening him from these new forces. At any rate, in the terrific fighting during the first days of September, 1914, the extreme right wing of the Germans was the first to give way. As a consequence the whole German army was forced to retreat from the Marne and to take up a strong defensive position on the Aisne River.

After their failure to take Paris in the first onrush, the Germans transferred their principal efforts to another field, the remainder of Belgium. They captured Antwerp, October 10, and soon gained possession of the whole country, except a tiny corner southwest of Ostend. Then they made a desperate attempt to reach Calais on the English Channel. But the Belgians cut the dikes and flooded the lowlands along the coast, while



INFANTRY IN THE TRENCHES



A TRENCH DUGOUT

the Allied armies offered strenuous resistance on the Yser River. Calais was never taken.

Meanwhile very harsh treatment was meted out to the unfortunate Belgian population behind the German lines. Huge sums were exacted, civilians were severely punished for resistance to military authorities, machinery in factories was dismantled and some of it carried off to Germany. In Louvain the Germans alleged that civilians had fired on German soldiers and in retaliation laid part of the city in ashes. This treatment of helpless people aroused everywhere great bitterness against Germany and her methods of warfare.

After the failure of the German army to reach Paris and Calais, the two opposing forces intrenched themselves on a line extending from the North Sea near Ostend to the Swiss border in southern Alsace. This line remained more or less the same until 1917. Costly attempts to break through were made on both sides, but without decisive results. Late in autumn, 1915, the English under Sir John French after terrific fighting gave up trying to force the German lines near Arras. From February to July, 1916, the German Crown Prince sacrificed five hundred thousand men in a fruitless attempt to take the strong French fortress of Verdun.

In the second half of 1916, the Allies, using a new type of armored motor contrivance, the so-called "tanks," launched a violent drive along the Somme River. They merely succeeded in bending back the German lines a few miles. In these and other drives both sides fought with the utmost bitterness and made use of all the means of destruction that modern science could devise. The losses in killed and maimed went into the millions, while the permanent results were insignificant.

556. The Eastern Front to 1917. — If the German commanders counted on a slow mobilization and advance of the huge Russian armies, they were utterly mistaken. Already in the first half of August, 1914, the Russians in large numbers had invaded East Prussia and rapidly overrun that province. For

a short while it seemed as if nothing would impede their march into the very heart of the empire. But towards the end of August fortune turned against them, and they were severely defeated in the battle of Tannenberg. In September another Russian army suffered disaster in the same region, at the time when the Germans themselves were checked on the Marne. In these operations Hindenburg, a retired German general called back to active service, held the chief command. Because of his successes against the Russians, he became the most popular leader in Germany. His victories, however, were made possible only by withdrawing large forces from the western front.

The main attacks of the Russians were delivered against Austria. They overran almost the whole of Galicia and, during the winter of 1915, made fierce attempts to pass the Carpathians. They failed, however, and hundreds of thousands of lives were sacrificed in vain. In the spring of 1915 the Central Powers prepared for a decisive blow against Russia. By concentrating enormous masses of troops and artillery in eastern Galicia on the Dunajec River, they were able to deal a terrific blow to the Russian forces and broke through their lines (May 2). Soon the entire Russian army from the Baltic Sea to the boundaries of Roumania gave way and started on a precipitate retreat. The whole of Russian Poland, most of Galicia, and the Baltic province of Kurland were evacuated by the Russians. Except for a few local successes the Russian army had to be content with holding the long line extending from the Gulf of Riga to Roumania.

In March, 1917, a secretly organized revolution broke out in Russia, declared the tsar deposed, and proclaimed a republic. For some time power was in the hands of the more moderate socialists, led by Kerenski. They attempted to continue the war, but the revolutionary spirit weakened discipline to such an extent that the Germans advanced almost at will. Finally, in November, 1917, the Kerenski government was overthrown by the extreme socialists (Bolshevists), who

repudiated Russia's obligations to the Allies and concluded a disastrous peace with the Central Powers. Although fighting at the front ceased, the Bolshevik rule threw Russia into a chaos of internal strife, anarchy, and famine. In a subsequent chapter we shall study the Russian upheaval in greater detail (§ 572 ff).

557. Other War Fronts. — The scene of the Austro-Italian war was along the mountainous frontiers of northern and eastern Venetia. Little advance was made on either side until October, 1917, when the Italians were driven back from the Isonzo River and the Austrians invaded Venetia as far as the Piave River.

When Turkey entered the war the Allies started on a naval expedition to strike at the heart of the Ottoman Empire by forcing the straits of the Dardanelles and storming Constantinople. But the Turks, well supplied with German officers and equipment, defended themselves so effectively that after heavy losses the Allies were forced to give up the enterprise (December, 1915). Better results awaited the English troops operating in Mesopotamia. After some initial reverses they succeeded, in 1917, in ascending the Euphrates and in occupying the important city of Bagdad. The German colonies in Africa and elsewhere, cut off as they were from assistance by the mother country, fell into the hands of the Allies one after another.

In the Balkans the fortunes of war until 1918 favored the Central Powers. At first Serbia was quite able to defend her territory, but in 1915 the combined Austrian and German troops overran Serbia and Montenegro from the north, while a Bulgarian army invaded it from the south. The two joined hands and thus opened free communication between Turkey and her allies in the north. The disastrous end of the Allies' attack on the Dardanelles was due in part to their failure to give timely assistance to Serbia. Roumania, too, almost immediately after she entered the war shared the fate of Serbia (December, 1916). Thus the Central Powers, in 1917, controlled an area which extended from the North Sea and France to Riga and the eastern

boundary of the old kingdom of Poland, and from the Baltic Sea to Mesopotamia.

558. America Enters the War. — Had the war been confined to the operations of the armies, it might never have spread beyond Europe and her colonies. It was mainly the war at sea that raised problems for the world at large and in particular for the United States, the chief neutral power. Very soon after the outbreak of hostilities the Allied navies swept the German commerce off the seas. The Germans were helpless against the might of the British fleet, except for the recently invented and improved submarine. The bulk of the German navy was kept at the fortified home bases to defend the ports. It was easy for the elusive submarines to evade the British cruisers guarding the exits from the North Sea and torpedo the ships of the Allies. No one denied that the submarine could be legitimately employed against the enemy's war vessels, but the German military authorities determined to go further and to use this sharp weapon also against the enemy's commerce.

Taking certain questionable features of the English blockade of German commerce as an excuse, the Germans established around England a war zone within which all enemy merchant vessels were to be sunk, whether it was always possible to save the passengers and crews or not. This was clearly a violation of international law, which permitted the sinking of merchant vessels only after all persons on board had been taken off.

On February 15, 1915, the German submarines began their operations along the English and Irish coasts, sometimes giving an opportunity to crew and passengers to take to small lifeboats, but more frequently sinking them without warning. Thus, on May 7, the great English liner *Lusitania* was sunk without warning as she was approaching the coast of Ireland. Nearly 1200 lives of men, women, and children were lost, over a hundred of whom were Americans. This atrocious deed excited a storm of indignation, not only in England but also in America. President Wilson protested energetically against the violation of the

right of American citizens to travel in safety on merchant vessels of the nations at war. After an exchange of angry notes and after the German government vainly tried to avoid a definite promise, an apparent settlement was reached when Germany promised that henceforth merchant ships should not be sunk without warning. She demanded, however, as a condition for keeping this pledge that the United States coerce England into strict observance of international law. The President declined to accept such a condition, and there the matter rested for some time.

On January 31, 1917, Germany suddenly announced that she would resume her unrestricted submarine warfare and sink all vessels, enemy and neutral, found within certain prohibited zones. The very next day her submarines began their activity and within a short time sank a large number of vessels. The President of the United States at once broke off diplomatic relations with Germany by recalling our ambassador. After waiting for "overt acts," which were not long in coming, he summoned a special session of Congress and asked for a declaration of a state of war with Germany. Both houses by large majorities passed this declaration, April 6.

The indignation of Americans had been aroused by repeated sinkings of merchant vessels with American passengers on board, all the more because such brutal proceedings violated every right to the freedom of the seas for which America had often contended in the past. Not a little fuel was added to the flames when it was discovered that the German Minister of Foreign Affairs had secretly offered an alliance to Mexico and Japan and promised them American territory if, in case of war between the United States and Germany, they would attack the United States. In Germany the press and the government stirred up ill feeling against America because of American exports of supplies and munitions to the Allied countries. They declared this unneutral and unfair, although it was perfectly legitimate and has nearly always been practiced by those who were in a position to do so, notably by the Germans themselves.

When Congress declared war, it was decided to make every effort to bring the conflict to a speedy and victorious end. Large sums of money were voted, obligatory military service, the draft, was introduced, while patriotic citizens everywhere heartily coöperated with the government in floating huge loans and in creating and supporting a vast armed force worthy of America's strength and greatness.

American help came just in time. A month before our entrance into the war, the Russian revolution had begun, weakening that country so much that, as a hindrance to the German advance, its power was soon broken. A few weeks later a big French offensive on the western front had broken down completely amid appalling losses. The submarine for a while seemed successful. In the first four months after the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare nearly four million tons of shipping were sunk. Widespread discontent and even mutinies in the army showed the hopelessness of the Allied cause. The Allied statesmen were calling loudly to the United States to hasten her preparations and to come as quickly as possible.

559. The United States Decides the Issue. — The German submarine campaign gradually proved a failure. True, the Allies were at times hard pressed for the ships needed to provide their civilian population with food, but the Allied armies were never hampered for lack of ammunition and supplies.

German statesmen had confidently boasted that the submarine in a few months would bring England to her knees. Instead, Germany had now to face the mighty army and the almost unlimited resources of America. The latter were at once put at the disposal of the Allies. The building of new ships was accelerated while at the same time methods of thwarting the submarine were constantly improved. The hopes built on America animated the people of the Allied nations with new courage and banished all thought of defeat. Moreover, the public utterances of President Wilson made them see the gigantic conflict in a new light. It was to be not merely a war waged for

their own immediate rights and interests, but a struggle for a new order of things in which all peoples should be emancipated from fear of unjust attacks by rival schemers after world empire. Henceforth no nation should seek to extend its control over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own policy.

It was thus to do away with the chief cause of wars and in that sense be "a war against war."

560. End of the Great War.

— As fast as possible the great American army with its perfect equipment was being landed on French soil. It soon made its presence felt. With the intention of preventing concerted action and of defeating if possible the Allied forces before the Americans were completely in the field, the Germans once more

launched a terrific drive in northern France and Belgium, chiefly toward Amiens and Arras, beginning in March, 1918. After gaining considerable ground, it came to a halt without achieving anything decisive. In July another attempt farther to the east carried the German troops once more to the river Marne. This was their last success.

The command of the Allied armies and the American troops had in the meantime been unified. *General* (later *Marshal*) *Foch*, a French soldier of brilliant talent and great experience, was made commander-in-chief of all the Allied forces on the western front. The effects of this unified command soon showed



GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

Pershing was commander-in-chief of the American forces during the World War.

themselves. With masterly strategy Foch handled the vast armies at his disposal, now delivering a blow at one point and then suddenly at another. Thus he never gave the enemy the chance which they had so often used before, of leisurely con-

centrating large forces at a desired point.



Underwood and Underwood

MARSHAL FERDINAND FOCH

In this last and decisive phase of the Great War an important share of the fighting fell to the American troops, and they more than fulfilled the hopes built on them. At *Château-Thierry* on the Marne they brought the last German advance to a standstill, to turn it almost at once into a precipitate retreat. To the east and west of Reims near *St. Mihiel* and in the *Argonne Forest*, they took positions that for almost four years had withstood every assault. Friend and foe alike admired the skill and heroic

courage displayed by these troops who only a few months before had been civilians without training and experience. America gratefully and proudly rejoiced over the noble deeds of her sons, who proved that they could be relied on to defend the rights and honor of their country in any emergency.

In a few weeks the strongly fortified German lines began to crumble. By October the German armies had everywhere abandoned the positions held for the last four years. Previously, in September, Bulgaria had surrendered unconditionally to an army advancing from Salonika. Then the Turks gave up the hopeless struggle. Austria followed in October after a disastrous defeat by the Italian troops. Finally, in November,

Germany asked for a cessation of hostilities. On the 11th of that month she accepted an *armistice* under conditions which made it impossible for her to resume the struggle. Two days before, a revolution in Germany had forced the emperor to abdicate and flee to Holland. At his fall practically all the German princes were compelled to hand over the government of their states to hastily formed committees, made up mostly of socialists.

PEACE

561. Peace Proposals. — On different occasions during the bloody struggle more or less sincere attempts were made to bring about peace. An offer of Germany, in December, 1916, to meet her enemies in a conference was rejected by them as manifestly insincere, since it failed to state anything definite on such vital points as the evacuation of Belgium and other invaded territories. Shortly afterwards President Wilson attempted to elicit a clear statement of their aims from both sides. Germany's answer again was too vague to form the basis of further negotiations. There was, however, a widespread and intense desire for peace among the German people, which found expression in a resolution of the Reichstag, July, 1917, favoring a peace without annexations or economic restrictions.

In August of the same year Pope Benedict XV sent forth a peace message in which he proposed a peace without indemnities, the evacuation of invaded territories, and negotiations concerning the boundary disputes between Austria and Italy and between France and Germany. Belgium was to be restored and given full independence. The answer of the German government, though friendly in tone, again avoided a precise statement of its attitude toward the question of Belgium. President Wilson replied in effect that the pope's proposal would mean a return to conditions as they existed before the war. This, he said, was impossible, for the word of the "present rulers" of Germany could not be taken as a guarantee of anything that was to endure. Here, then, was an unmistakable demand that the German

people change their government, and it seems certain that it helped to bring about the revolution of November, 1918.

On January 18, 1918, the President stated a program of world peace which embraced fourteen points. The chief of these were: no secret international understandings or treaties, absolute freedom of navigation of the seas in peace and war, removal of economic barriers, reduction of armaments, impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, the restoration of Belgium, righting the wrong done to France in 1871 by the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Finally, a *general association of nations* was to be formed, "under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike." When the armistice was signed it was agreed by all that these fourteen points and other similar declarations of the President of the United States should form the basis of the peace negotiations.

562. The Peace Congress. — On January 18, 1919, two months after the armistice, the President of the United States and the delegates of the Allies met at the capital of France to give the world the longed-for peace. The meeting was unlike the Congress of Vienna of a century earlier, in that kings and princes were conspicuous by their absence. Prime ministers and members of cabinets and generals and admirals from twenty-seven different states constituted this modern peace congress. Great hopes were built on the congress; it was to fulfill age-long and sometimes conflicting aspirations of the most diverse kind, and it was to create conditions of such stability that war would be eliminated for generations to come.

Those who expected the beginning of a golden age were soon undeceived. The statesmen sitting down to the task of remaking a war-torn world were not all animated by the same lofty ideals and the same sincere desire for a lasting settlement. Some saw clearly that if peace was to be permanent, if it was not to create new standing grievances, it must take account of the just aspirations of the various nationalities and not bandy them

about from government to government without their consent. It must give both conquerors and vanquished a chance to reconstruct their countries as soon as possible. It must not put on any people such burdens and such economic restrictions that they would feel condemned to perpetual slavery. The spokesman of this view was President Wilson. In his Fourteen Points



THE "BIG FOUR"

Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau, Wilson.

and in other pronouncements he had laid down the principles of such a settlement, and many listened with a new hope to his eloquent pleading for a lasting peace. Even the Allied statesmen paid at least lip-service to his lofty views.

On the other hand, the war had engendered such hatred and such a passion for "getting even" with the enemy that the ideals of the President seemed ludicrous to many. Politicians of the victorious countries, in order to make the burdens of the war seem more bearable, had made golden promises of huge

indemnities and consequent decrease of taxes. Perhaps the greatest obstacles to a sane peace were a number of secret treaties made during the war. In these treaties the Allied statesmen made one another the most liberal promises of annexations at the expense of the Central Powers regardless of the wishes of the people concerned. Russia was to get all Poland, Constantinople, Armenia and almost the whole south coast of the Black Sea. France was not only to receive Alsace-Lorraine but to dominate German territory as far as the Rhine and in addition to obtain considerable areas in Asia Minor. Turkish Mesopotamia as well as the bulk of the German colonies was to go to Great Britain. Italy obtained the promise of strips of land on the western end of Asia Minor, and her wishes for the liberation of Unredeemed Italy were to be more than gratified, for her future boundary in the northeast of the peninsula and along the eastern Adriatic was to be drawn in such a way as to include considerable portions of the Slavic and German population of former Austria-Hungary.

These and similar secret agreements more than once clashed with the ideals of President Wilson. After months of debate and bargaining the peace congress published the results, embodied in several peace treaties to be handed for acceptance to the defeated states. In some cases the terms constituted a compromise between the President's views and those of the Allied diplomats, but in many others they meant a defeat for Wilson.

563. The Treaty with Germany. — The text of the terms to be imposed on Germany were handed to the German delegates on May 7, 1919. After vain attempts of these delegates to obtain a milder sentence and after being threatened with a continuation of the blockade, the German National Assembly accepted them on July 7. The chief provisions of the treaty may be summarized under the following heads:

(1) *Territorial and political terms.* Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France. France, too, was given the right to occupy temporarily the Saar basin, that is, the rich coal and iron region

just north of Lorraine. After fifteen years its definite political status is to be decided by a vote of the inhabitants.

Eupen and Malmédy, two small districts north of Luxemburg, were ceded to Belgium.

The city and harbor of Danzig were separated from Germany and made a free city under international control, but it was to form one customs union with Poland so as to give this new state free access to the Baltic. West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula and the province of Posen went to Poland. The political allegiance of Upper Silesia and of the southern part of East Prussia was to be decided by a plebiscite (vote of the inhabitants).¹

A plebiscite was to be held in Schleswig in which those districts that would vote for Denmark were to be incorporated in that state.

Outside Europe Germany was required to hand over all her colonies and "spheres of influence" to the Allies. France and Belgium received a small portion of the German possessions in Africa; Japan received those in the Pacific north of the equator and Kiaochoo in China. All the rest went to Great Britain and her dependencies.

(2) *Military terms.* The German army was reduced to 100,000 men. Conscription was forbidden. The fortifications near the western boundary, on Heligoland, and on the Baltic were to be destroyed. The navy was reduced to a few battle-ships and cruisers; submarines and military aviation were prohibited. Allied troops were to occupy the left bank of the Rhine, to be withdrawn in five, ten, or fifteen years if Germany fulfills her obligations.

(3) *Economic terms.* Germany had to accept full responsibility for all damages caused to her opponents. Besides handing

¹ The votes were taken in 1919 and 1921 respectively. In both cases the result favored Germany. East Prussia was left under German rule, but the League of Nations partitioned Upper Silesia between the Germans and the Poles.

over most of her merchant ships to replace those sunk by her submarines, she was to devote her resources to new construction. She was required to deliver large quantities of coal and other supplies to France, Belgium, and Italy. Commissions appointed by the Allies were from time to time to fix the sums that Germany was to pay to make good the damages caused by her armies. Other provisions were designed to prevent Germany from discriminating against her former enemies by special tariffs and forced her to consent to the sale of all German property in Allied countries.

564. The Treaties with Austria and Hungary. — The treaty with the new Republic of Austria was signed October 17, 1919, and with Hungary, June 4, 1920. In both halves of the former Hapsburg monarchy revolutions and risings of the subject nationalities had upset the established order before the last gun in the Great War had been fired. We shall study these events in the recent history of both countries. The peace treaties for the most part only registered accomplished facts.

Bohemia, Moravia, and portions of northern Hungary form the independent Republic of Czechoslovakia. Galicia, that province which in the first partition of Poland had been annexed by the Hapsburgs (§ 173), was restored to Poland. The Slavic provinces of Austria and of Hungary were joined to Serbia. Montenegro, too, was added to Serbia. That little Balkan state was thus enlarged to more than two and a half times its former size, the new state being officially entitled the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, but commonly called Yugoslavia (South Slav Land). Transylvania in southeastern Hungary and some territory to the west of it as well as Bukovina, the Austrian province south of Galicia, were annexed to Roumania. Italy obtained southern Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, Fiume, and islands along the eastern Adriatic coast.

Austria and Hungary were completely separated, and the former was forbidden to enter into a union with Germany except by unanimous consent of the Council of the League of

Nations. These changes reduced the population of Austria to six and a half millions and that of Hungary to eight. The army of the former was limited to 30,000 volunteers, and that of the latter to 20,000. The terms regarding indemnities in cash and material were similar to those imposed upon Germany.

565. Treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey. — Bulgaria in the treaty of November 27, 1919, lost most of the territories which she had acquired in the Balkan wars of 1912-1913. Nearly all of them went to Greece, which thus became master of almost the whole northern coast of the Ægean Sea. The Bulgarians were permitted to maintain an army of not more than 33,000 men and had to pay an indemnity of almost half a billion dollars.

The sultan had to permit the creation of the Arab state of Hejaz along the eastern coast of the Red Sea under British control. Armenia was made independent. Palestine, Mesopotamia (now the Kingdom of Irak), and the trans-Jordan territory (Transjordan) were made British mandates, while Syria and Cilicia were given to France as mandates under the League. Southern Anatolia went to Italy, and Greek ambitions were gratified by Smyrna and adjacent territory on the eastern coast of the Ægean and by Thrace on the northern coast. Likewise, the city of Adrianople and the peninsula of Gallipoli as well as a number of islands were bestowed upon Greece. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, so long coveted by Russia, were placed under international control. This treaty,¹ signed by the sultan on August 10, 1920, was not to last long. Three years later the reawakening of the Turk and the conflicting schemes of the Allies made important modifications necessary (§ 584).

¹ All the above-mentioned peace treaties were drawn up by the peace conference of Paris and may be referred to collectively as the Paris peace settlement. Officially, however, each treaty bears a different name taken from a suburb of the French capital or a neighboring town in which the delegates of the defeated countries signed the documents. Thus the peace with Germany is called the treaty of Versailles, that with Austria the treaty of St. Germain. Hungary signed the treaty of Trianon, Bulgaria the treaty of Neuilly, and Turkey the treaty of Sèvres.

CHAPTER XLVII

EUROPE AFTER THE WAR

566. The Great War left Europe exhausted. — Never has there been such a gigantic struggle, leaving in its wake such terrible losses in property and human lives, so many widows and orphans, so much dire poverty and distress. About ten million men in the best years of manhood were killed and at least twice as many wounded. Millions of the latter are crippled for life. Enormous debts were contracted by the belligerent governments, and the burden of crushing taxes weighs to-day and will weigh on whole generations. Some states went bankrupt, others nearly so. Because so many men in their full vigor were withdrawn from productive labor on the farm and in the workshop to do the work of mere destruction on the battlefield, the output of the necessities of life almost everywhere decreased, while the prices of these necessities, the cost of living, mounted higher and higher, far beyond the means of the poorer classes.

During the war bitterness and hatred between nations had been intense and almost universal. Politicians and newspapers had done their worst to fan the flames of these passions, for the most part to make the people more willing to make the heavy sacrifices demanded of them. Naturally these bitter feelings did not at once disappear with the conclusion of peace. The drastic peace terms and the fact that the defeated nations could or would not always fulfill them for a while made matters worse. Happily in nearly all countries voices were raised to counsel moderation and Christian forgiveness. Nobody exerted himself more in this noble task than Pope Benedict XV and his

successor Pius XI. Certain historical writers, too, may claim credit for establishing a more reasonable attitude toward the question of the responsibility for all that bloodshed and destruction. Quantities of secret documents, revealing to us the wiles and intrigues of the diplomats of almost all nations, have come to light and warn us not to be too hasty in throwing the blame on this or that ruler or nation. In every country, too, there were angry remonstrances against the heavy burdens of taxation, discontent against the ruling classes and the men of wealth, especially those that had made large profits by the war, widespread contempt for authority, and a reckless slighting of the moral law. The passionate appeals to nationalism, the right of every nation to determine its own destinies, reacted upon the victors and forced them to make concessions to their own subject races. At the same time angry bickerings among the victors over the spoils more than once threatened the peace.

In the preceding chapter we had more than once to touch upon events that followed the war. We shall here make a brief survey of outstanding happenings of these recent years and try to understand some of the principal problems that face Europe and the world in our day.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

567. The Work of President Wilson. — We have seen how President Wilson embodied his views of a lasting and just peace in his famous Fourteen Points. Whatever compromises with the other Allied statesmen he had to agree to, he had the satisfaction of having the last of these points accepted by nearly every nation. As we saw before (§ 561), it provided for a general association of nations to be formed for the mutual protection of all states alike. Nothing seems to have been nearer the heart of the President than the creation of "such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all and make the world itself at last free." It was chiefly to assure the realization of this plan of a League of Nations that Wilson set aside precedent

and went in person to Paris to take part in the peace negotiations. Through his insistence the constitution of the League was made part of every peace treaty concluded at Paris in 1919-1920.

568. Covenant of the League of Nations. — The following are the main articles in the constitution or covenant of the League: (1) There is a permanent secretariat with headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland, which receives reports and appeals to the League and prepares the material for the general meetings. (2) The delegates of all the nations which are members of the League constitute the Assembly. This Assembly meets at stated intervals, usually in Geneva. Each nation has one vote, though it may send from one to three delegates. The self-governing dominions of the British Empire were each accorded a vote and enjoy, therefore, in the League the status of independent nations. (3) There is a sort of upper house, the Council of the League, made up of representatives of the great powers. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan were each to have a permanent seat. To these are added four temporary seats, filled from time to time by the Assembly.

Every member of the League promises to respect the boundaries and independence of every other state. If a dispute should arise between members of the League they must submit the case to arbitration by a permanent court of international justice provided for by the League, and they are not to go to war until three months after the decision of this court. If they prefer they may lay the matter before the Council or the Assembly of the League. The decision of the former to be binding must be unanimous, but in the Assembly only a majority vote is required to make its award obligatory, provided all the states represented in the Council support it. In neither case are the votes of the parties to the dispute counted. Should a member refuse to submit to these provisions and go to war, it is deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members and at once will be debarred from all trade and





financial intercourse with them. The Council will then recommend to the several states what measures they are to take against this violation of the pledges made to the League.

In the future the text of treaties made by members of the League must be registered with that body, and all treaties in conflict with any provision of the League's constitution are abrogated. The League also recommends to its members to reduce armaments to the lowest possible point and recognizes that the manufacture of munitions by private enterprise is open to grave objections.

569. Administrative Tasks of the League. — The League of Nations was, moreover, charged with several practical tasks. It had to supervise the plebiscites held in Schleswig, Upper Silesia, and East Prussia. The administration of the Saar Valley and of the internationalized city of Danzig is responsible to the League. Those who received former German colonies and territories from Turkey hold them in trust for the League as mandates and report annually to that body on the condition of these lands.

The framers of the League also attempted to deal with the social unrest and international anarchy which prevailed throughout the world in the years following the Great War. For this purpose they summoned a Labor Convention which provided for a permanent international organization of labor. A Labor Conference is held each year to which every nation sends four delegates representing the government, the employers, and the employees. An International Labor Office at the seat of the League of Nations gathers and distributes information regarding labor and prepares the questions to be considered in the Conference. The Conference may propose legislation on labor to the various governments. The right of workingmen's union, the eight-hour day, prohibition of child labor, and wages sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of living are the principles by which the Labor Conference is guided.

570. The United States and the League. — When the League of Nations opened its first session on January 16, 1920, all the

Allied countries, except Russia and the United States, and most of the neutrals had signified their adherence. Of the former enemy states Austria and Bulgaria were admitted almost at once, and Hungary two years later. After considerable delay and after delicate negotiations, which at one time threatened to wreck the League, Germany, on September 8, 1926, was admitted to the Assembly of the League and given a permanent seat in the Council. The Russian Bolsheviks have not sought admission and profess to have no inclination to join with "the capitalistic governments of the West."

The only power among the victors that did not sign the treaties made at Paris nor join the League of Nations was the United States. And yet our President had been the foremost champion of the League. When he returned from Paris, in July, 1919, he submitted, as he was bound to do by our constitution, the treaty with Germany and the League plan to the Senate for approval. But that body demanded certain changes which the President deemed inadmissible, and so the whole treaty and the League — which formed part of it — were rejected.

There is no doubt that the majority of the people stood behind this attitude of the Senate, although the motives varied with different sections of the population. Some feared that the United States as member of the League might become too much entangled in foreign politics. Others objected to the clause which gave the British self-governing colonies seats in the Assembly and saw in it a scheme for British predominance. Others again denounced the treaty with Germany as too harsh and not consistent with the Fourteen Points and other promises on the basis of which Germany had surrendered. In vain the President toured the country to win the people over to his views. In the elections of 1920 he made the League an issue of the campaign. The verdict of the voters gave overwhelming support to the Republican party, the opponent of the League, and the election of President Harding meant decisive defeat for the project as far as the United States was concerned.

In 1921-1922 America made separate peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The opposition of the country against any concerted action with European powers was so great that, when President Harding proposed to accept membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice, both Congress and public opinion gave him little support.

571. The Washington Disarmament Conference. — The covenant of the League as a means of maintaining peace had suggested general reduction of armaments. The victorious powers had, indeed, compelled a drastic reduction of the armed forces of their former enemies, but for themselves they continued the old policy of big military and naval establishments. At the invitation of President Harding an international conference among the former Allies met in Washington, in November, 1921, in order to lighten if possible the burdens of huge armaments.

After three months' discussion the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy came to an agreement regarding their navies. The total tonnage of their battleships and cruisers was fixed at the ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.75 : 1.75 respectively. They also passed resolutions condemning unrestricted submarine warfare and the use of poisonous gas, but no limit was put to the number of submarines and airplanes, nor could they arrive at any agreement restricting the size of armies. In 1927 the question of further reduction of armaments was taken up by the League of Nations, but without any definite results.

The Washington Conference also gave us the Four-Power Treaty by which the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan promised to respect one another's possessions in the Pacific Ocean. Japan, moreover, agreed to restore to China the former German colony of Kiaochow which the Peace Conference had assigned to her. Finally all the powers represented in the Washington Conference decided to respect the independence of China and not to seek any more privileges or "spheres of influence" in that country.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

572. The Approach of the Storm. — When Russia entered the Great War the big majority of the people apparently gave whole-hearted support to the government. In their eyes it was the noble task of Russia to free Slavic peoples, their kinsmen, from the domination of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. The Russian revolution of 1904–1905 seemed to be forgotten. Its leaders were dead or in exile. The only reminder of that outburst of democracy was a poor imitation of the Western parliaments, the Duma (§ 503), elected as we have seen by a carefully distributed franchise and not really representative of the people.

Yet, insignificant as it was, the Duma by its very existence kept alive political discussion and opposition to the autocracy of the tsar. The more unbending autocracy became, the more radical grew the demands of its opponents. The most moderate party called itself the Constitutional Democratic Party, representing chiefly the educated professional and business classes. It hoped for a gradual transformation of the government into something like the British system, with an elected parliament, a responsible Cabinet, and a written constitution. The other parties were more or less socialistic. The Social Revolutionary Party found its main support among the peasants but was led by middle-class men who promised to despoil the nobility and divide up their estates among the actual tillers of the soil.

Lastly there was the Social Democratic Party, comprising the bulk of the workingmen in factories and mines. It accepted the principles of Karl Marx (§ 328) and accordingly stood for confiscation of private property and the control of industry by the workingmen. Before the Great War it had split into two factions, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The latter expected to achieve their ends by a policy of gradual changes in economic conditions and education of the masses in socialistic views.

But the Bolsheviks were not willing to wait; violence was to be used at the first opportunity and the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was to be established. By that phrase they meant placing all political and economic power in the hand of the working classes. The Bolsheviks opposed Russia's entrance into the war, but as they were then few in numbers and as their leaders lived in exile, their opposition for the time being counted for nothing. All the other parties at first loyally coöperated with the government to win the war, hoping that the close alliance of Russia with the democratic nations of the West would induce the tsar to grant reform. The subject nationalities, too, such as the Russian Poles and Lithuanians, the Finns and the Jews, supported the war because they expected that their loyalty would convince the government that further "Russification" was unnecessary.

573. The Tsar Abdicates. — Then came the Russian disasters of the war which have been described in a previous chapter (§ 556). Despite their superiority in numbers, despite the personal bravery and heroic endurance of the Russian soldiers, after the first year the part played by Russia in the war was marked by a long series of defeats and retreats. This could be explained only by the incapacity of the military leaders and the general corruption of the administration. Lack of equipment among the troops became a scandal. During the gloomy winter of the third year of the war discontent spread alarmingly through the empire. Well-meaning patriots and the ambassadors of the Allied Powers saw the ominous signs of the approaching storm and warned the tsar to make concessions before it was too late. But Nicholas II turned a deaf ear to these entreaties and preferred to listen to those who declared that autocracy was the best for Russia. The Duma was sullen and numerous strikes showed the temper of the working classes.

When in March, 1917, the government made an attempt to stop one of these strikes, the storm broke. The tsar's train on its way to the capital was side-tracked. The Duma when

ordered by imperial decree to go home refused to obey. A committee of soldiers and workingmen took over the government of Petrograd. The example of the capital was speedily followed by other cities, provinces, and by the soldiers at the front. Nicholas II, unable to enforce obedience, on March 15 announced his abdication in favor of his brother Michael. The latter realized that the days of the tsars were over and refused to occupy their shaky throne. The whole Romanov family thereupon retired into private life.

574. Provisional Government. — The Duma and the Committee of Soldiers and Workingmen of Petrograd agreed to form a provisional government. For the most part this temporary government was put into the hands of moderate democrats. Only one member, Aleksandr Kerenski, represented the radical socialists. It at once proclaimed liberty of the press and of religion, set free political prisoners and invited political exiles to return. Then it announced a national constitutional assembly to be elected by universal suffrage. This assembly never met, because of the troublous career of the provisional government.

It was not a share in the government that the people really wanted. The men in power were business and professional men with ideas of political democracy, parliaments, and elections after the Western fashion. But the vast majority of the Russian people were farmers and workingmen who understood little of these things and cared even less. What they hoped for was a dividing up of the big estates, ownership of the land they tilled, better wages for workingmen. They were profoundly disgusted with the war. They were willing to acclaim any one who would end it speedily. During the spring and summer of 1917 there sprang into existence all over Russia local committees or councils of workingmen, peasants, or soldiers. Soviets they were called in Russian. These soviets carried on an energetic campaign in behalf of land reform, management of industries by the workers, and a peace without annexations and indemnities.

In the meantime the middle-class members gradually left the Provisional Government. In August Aleksandr Kerenski, finding himself practically alone, assumed a sort of dictatorship or one-man government, only to be assailed by both sides for being either too radical or too conservative. He tried to continue the war to an honorable end. But the Allied governments distrusted him, and the soviets had undermined the discipline of the soldiers at the front. At the same time movements tending towards separation from Russia had begun among the subject nationalities, the Ruthenians or Little Russians in the south, the Lithuanians, and others.

Most active of all his enemies were the Bolsheviks. Their two chiefs, Lenin and Trotski, recently returned from exile, kept up an incessant agitation and organized a new military body devoted to Bolshevik principles, the Red Guards. On November 6, 1917, just when a congress of delegates from all the soviets was about to open its sessions in Petrograd, the Bolsheviks struck their blow. The members of the Provisional Government were put under arrest. Kerenski alone managed to escape. The Soviet Congress by one of its very first acts ratified this *coup d'état*.

575. The Bolsheviks in Control. — Vladimir Lenin, who as a young man had become imbued with the theories of Karl Marx, now put himself at the head of the new government, and Leon Trotski, likewise a fanatical socialist, took charge of the Red (*i. e.* Bolshevik) army. Feeling secure in their power because they had previously obtained control over most of the local soviets, they now attempted on a gigantic scale to transform Russia into a purely socialistic state.

For the first time the entire socialist program was to be given an actual trial. The workers alone were to exercise supreme control over the destinies of Russia. The ownership of land, mines, and industries was to be vested in the state. And then the socialist revolution was to be carried from Russia to the whole world.

But before this could be attempted peace had to be made with the Central Powers. Accordingly the delegates of Russia met those of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey at Brest Litovsk in March, 1918 (§ 556). Poland in the west, the Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Transcaucasia in the south, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland along the Baltic Sea were



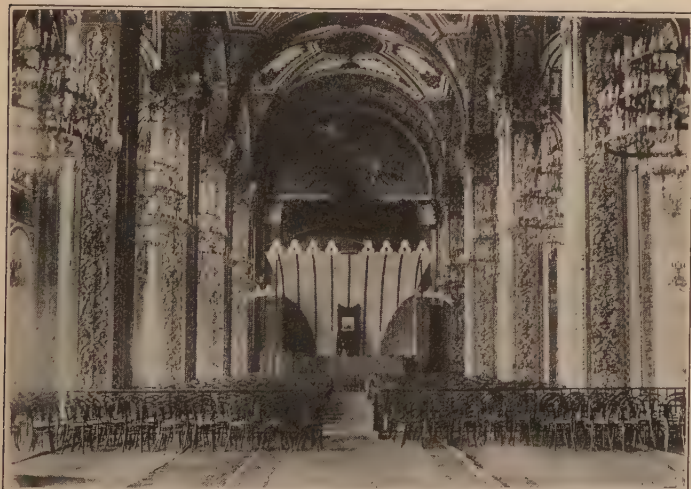
LENIN

set free. Russia still kept a few miles of the Baltic coast; otherwise she was practically reduced to the territory she had at the accession of Peter the Great (§ 154).

Previously to this peace treaty, the elections for the National Constitutional Assembly so often promised by the Provisional Government were finally held, but, as the majority of the deputies elected were not Bolsheviks, Lenin promptly dissolved it. He likewise suppressed those local soviets that showed anti-Bolshevist leanings.

A National Congress of Soviets thus purged of unwelcome members, in July, 1918, gave Russia a new constitution. This document in fine phrases proclaimed liberty of conscience, of the press, and of meeting, but in reality it took good care to secure full freedom for the Bolsheviks alone. Practically all government, both local and central, was put in their hands. Only men and women over eighteen years of age who were engaged in farm work or industrial labor could vote. The middle class were largely, the nobility and clergy entirely, excluded. All the powers of government were to be held by a central committee of about two hundred, chosen by the National Congress of Soviets. It was to make all laws and choose all ministers. Thus it became possible for a small ruthless faction to shape the policies of a great nation.

As fanatical pupils of Karl Marx the Bolsheviks now proceeded to change Russia into the "promised land." Labor was made compulsory for all citizens. The homes and lands of the wealthy were seized without compensation. All real estate, all mines, factories, banks, railroads were declared property of the state. All previous public debts were canceled and foreign trade made the exclusive business of the government. All



THRONE ROOM OF THE GREAT PALACE (MOSCOW)

This palace is now the headquarters of the Council of People's Commissars.

Note Lenin's picture where the throne used to be.

private schools were closed and in those of the state the teaching of any kind of religion was forbidden in the name of religious liberty. In practice the denial of God and the ridicule of Christianity received every encouragement.

576. The Fruits of Bolshevism. — As might have been expected, the immediate result of these radical experiments was utter confusion. The workingmen were too ignorant to manage the big industries, and production sank alarmingly. The illiterate Russian farmer expected a paradise and ceased to exert

himself. The railroads broke down. Famine followed, especially in the years 1920 and 1921, in which hundreds of thousands perished — some accounts speak of millions. The misery would have been even greater, had not foreign countries, foremost among them the United States, come to the relief. The Holy Father, too, organized relief work on a large scale which saved many thousands of the famished people.

Such disasters forced the Bolshevik government to revise its economic policies. According to the original plan the peasants were to hand over the products of their farm to the state after deducting what they needed for the support of their own families. In 1921 it was enacted that the farmer might again keep all he produced and sell it in the open market. He might again sell his land, bequeath it to his heirs, in short treat it as his property. But the government was careful to add that the law should be considered temporary and that private ownership of land was doomed to disappear. In the same year private enterprise was admitted in the industries and the interference of the soviets in the management of factories reduced to a minimum, but corporations and trusts remain responsible to the state for part of their profits. As a consequence of these measures production increased until it reached again the pre-war figure.

The anti-Christian school legislation remained, however, unchanged. Marriage, too, was bereft of its sacred character and could be dissolved at any time merely by consent of both parties. The Russian Church, after being deprived of its property and the protection of the government, split into numerous sects, some of which openly supported the Bolshevik government. From the outset the new régime met internal opposition, but crushed it by a brutal and bloody Reign of Terror. The unhappy ex-tsar, Nicholas II, and his family were first brought to Siberia and then slaughtered by order of a local soviet, July 16, 1918.

577. Bolshevism and the World. — Just as the French Revolutionists a century ago felt the call of remaking all Europe after

the pattern of the French Republic, so the leaders of Russian Bolshevism instituted a world-wide propaganda inciting the people everywhere against their government and against the propertied classes. The Germans were the first ones to show alarm at the spread of Bolshevik doctrines. Before the close of the Great War, they took care to set up anti-Bolshevist governments in most of the states set free by the peace treaty of Brest Litovsk (§ 575). But when the Central Powers collapsed that same year and hunger and bitter disappointment took hold of the people, Bolshevik propaganda seemed to have a fair field. Bolshevik outbreaks occurred in Hungary, in the capitals of Austria, Bavaria, and Prussia, and in several industrial districts of Germany. But the conservative sense of the people at large did not permit these radical doctrines to take a firm hold. In southern Russia, however, in the Ukraine and in Transcaucasia, Bolshevik governments were set up which at once established an intimate union with the leaders at Moscow.

After the end of the War the Allies undertook to stem the tide of Bolshevism. They were filled with resentment against the new government of Russia because it had repudiated the foreign debt of the former government, most of which was owed to French bondholders, and because it had published the secret treaties made during the war between the former tsar and his allies (§ 562). Besides, they felt that the Russian Revolution, once successful in its homeland, might easily engulf all Europe. Hence they decided to stop the conflagration by attacking its hearth. In 1918 they established a strict blockade of all Russian harbors. Allied forces were landed in northern European Russia and on the Pacific coast of Siberia. Counter-revolutionary risings in southern Russia and western Siberia were encouraged, and the Poles were incited to advance into Bolshevik territory. The latter made a determined attempt but failed. After a series of victories the Red Army, in July, 1920, reached the neighborhood of Warsaw, the Polish capital.

Only the most heroic resistance saved Poland from a Bolshevist dictatorship.

All the other Allied expeditions failed likewise. Dissensions, post-war exhaustion, the indifference and even hostility of the laboring classes in the Allied countries, the fear of the Russian peasantry and the workingmen that a victory of the Allies might mean the restoration of the nobility were some of the reasons why the Western governments did not pursue their aims more energetically and allowed the Bolsheviks to win a number of important victories.

In a series of treaties, in 1920 and 1921, the new Russian government once more guaranteed the independence of the former subject nationalities along the Baltic Sea, regulated the Polish boundary, and attached to itself more closely the Ukraine and the vast regions of western and eastern Siberia. "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics" is now the official name of what is left of the empire of the tsars. The new Russia renounced all privileges of the former imperial government in Persia (§ 544) and Turkey. Some of the Western powers have recognized the new government, but not all. The United States still holds back.

CENTRAL EUROPE

578. Fall of the Hohenzollerns. — In Germany, as in Russia, the common people in the beginning of the Great War came enthusiastically to the support of their government. Without a murmur they bore the sacrifices in blood and treasure, convinced, as their government told them, that they were the victims of a conspiracy of their jealous neighbors. Trouble began in 1916 when a section of the powerful Socialist Party repudiated their leaders and formed an Independent Socialist Party which demanded immediate peace and democratic reform of the German constitution. With the collapse of Russia in 1917 and the entrance of the United States into the war opposition against the imperial government assumed a threatening character.

In July, 1917, Matthias Erzberger, a prominent member of the Catholic Center Party (§ 446), attacked the government on the submarine campaign, demanded a peace without indemnity and annexation, and far-reaching democratic reforms, especially of Prussia. Most members of his own party, and also the Socialists and the National Liberal Party, supported him. The chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg resigned. His next two successors, Michaelis and Hertling, found it impossible to harmonize the autocratic views of the Kaiser and his conservative supporters with those of the Reichstag majority, and resigned after a brief tenure of office. The peace with Russia and the last drive on the western front in the spring of 1918 for the time being made the people forget their domestic grievances.

Then came the disasters of October and November of that year which we have recounted in the chapter on the war. When the negotiations for the armistice made it clear to the people that their defeat and humiliation were worse than they had anticipated, outcries against the Kaiser and demands that he resign were heard on all sides. William II hurriedly left Berlin for the headquarters of the army. There he was bluntly told by the General Staff that they could not guarantee his safety among his own soldiers, whereupon the last Hohenzollern, on November 9, 1918, ignominiously fled to neutral Holland.

579. Remaking Germany. — At home the last Imperial Chancellor, Prince Maximilian, turned the management of affairs over to one of the Socialist leaders, Friedrich Ebert. The abdication of the Kaiser was speedily followed by the flight or forced resignation of every German prince, so that by the end of November not only the national but every state government had become republican. Nowhere was there much resistance to these changes and consequently there was very little bloodshed.

As the leaders of the revolution were all more or less radical Socialists, it was at first feared that Germany, and perhaps all central Europe, would follow the example of Russia. In fact,

red flags were hoisted in many cities and the extreme Socialists sent up the strident cry for dictatorship of the proletariat. But the good sense and genuine patriotism of the moderate parties, especially the Center Party, prevented the worst. In a short time the Communists, the Radical Socialists, lost control of whatever local government they had usurped.

On the other hand, a considerable number of nobles, army officers, and other reactionaries fiercely denounced the great political upheaval and branded it as treachery, as an assault upon the honor and dignity of the nation. Some resorted even to political murder and several adherents of the new order of things fell victims to their fury. Bitter party strife marked the life of the new German republic, and internal dissensions on the most vital questions threatened the stability of the government. However, it seems safe to say that the bulk of the people do not desire a return to the monarchy.

On February 6, 1919, a National Constitutional Assembly was convened at Weimar in Thuringia. The fundamental law which it drafted for the new German republic was largely the work of the moderate parties, the Center, what was left of the Socialist party after the defection of the Independents (§ 578), and the Democrats. It retained the system of federal and state governments for so many centuries peculiar to Germany. The national legislature is a two-chamber parliament, the lower house (Reichstag) being made up of members elected by the people and the upper house (Reichsrat) consisting of delegates representing the various state governments. The executive power is intrusted to a president elected for seven years and to a ministry responsible to parliament. The ministry, as in England, has to resign if it loses the support of the majority of the Reichstag. The franchise is bestowed upon all German citizens, men and women, over twenty years of age. This new constitution went into force on August 14, 1919. Of course every state had either to remake its constitution or at least to adapt it to the new conditions. One of the by-products of

the revolution was the reduction of the number of states by merging some of the smaller ones. Thus the former twenty-five states are now reduced to eighteen.

580. The Struggle over Reparations. — The change in government did not do away with Germany's worst troubles. These were economic. The peace treaty enjoined that Germany make financial compensation or reparation for the Allied losses in the war; in other words, practically pay for the whole cost of it. No definite sum was stated in the treaty itself, but in 1921 the Inter-Allied Reparations Commission fixed the amount at fifty-four billion dollars in gold. The Germans replied that with their industries crippled by hostile tariffs, with their merchant marine and most of their oversea trade gone, with most of their iron mines and all of their colonies in the hands of their former enemies, such payments were manifestly impossible.

Months of quarreling followed, not only between Germany and her foes, but also among the Allies themselves. Great Britain began to see that with Germany financially ruined one of her best customers was gone. Hence she insisted more and more that the burden of reparations should be reasonable. France, however, maintained an attitude of uncompromising rigor. In 1923, when Germany's payments fell short of the prescribed quota, French military forces marched into the Ruhr Valley. The Ruhr River, one of the eastern tributaries of the lower Rhine, flows through the very heart of the German industrial region and is the home of over four million industrial workers. French officials were to manage the big mines and foundries for French profit. These proceedings lowered even further Germany's ability to pay and thus postponed the resumption of normal commercial intercourse between nations. The French Prime Minister Poincaré, who was chiefly responsible for the invasion of the Ruhr district, drew upon himself severe criticisms which gathered in volume as the months went on. The workers in the occupied region determined to offer "passive resistance," that is, to refuse to work under French manage-

ment. Employees in stores, hotels, the telephone service, and other public utilities followed the example of the men in the factories. For nine months the people at the cost of terrible sufferings to themselves held out in this unequal contest, while the French military courts condemned thousands for not complying with one or another of the many orders issued by the military authorities. France herself gained very little compensation for her trouble. Gradually the conviction spread everywhere that Poincaré was bent more on the ruin of the hated enemy than on restoring the normal economic life of Europe. It was felt that the welfare of all Europe demanded that the sixty million German people be again enabled to sell and buy in the international markets. For some months the world looked silently on the spectacle in the Ruhr Valley, but finally the British government lost patience and declared publicly that the occupation of that region was not justified by any clause of the peace treaty.

In October, 1923, the same government invited all the interested countries to submit the whole question of German reparations to a committee of financial experts. Previously the American Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, had made a similar suggestion and thus deserves the credit of making a beginning toward a reasonable solution of that vexing problem. Belgium and Italy expressed their willingness to coöperate; but France, while not formally rejecting the plan, made so many reservations — for instance, that the reduction of the amount and the evacuation of the Ruhr Valley should not be discussed — that the United States would have nothing further to do with the plan.

Then, in December, 1923, the results of the English elections gave Poincaré a warning. The Conservative Party under Stanley Baldwin was defeated. It had suggested as a cure for the large unemployment in industry a protective tariff. But the English Labor Party as well as the Liberals preferred to seek a solution in a revision of the peace treaties. These treaties,

they said, and England's refusal to recognize the new government of Russia were the chief obstacles that prevented England from recovering her markets. After the elections the Conservatives were in a minority against the combined forces of their opponents. Ramsay MacDonald, a Labor leader, became prime minister for the next ten months. The French prime minister thereupon showed himself less obstinate, and partly withdrew his former objections against Hughes' plan.

In January, 1924, the commission under the presidency of an American, General Charles G. Dawes (later Vice-President of the United States), began its work. The report of the commission, the "Dawes Report," with its proposals on the payment of reparations, was put before an international conference assembled in London. Germany for the first time since the war appeared



CHARLES G. DAWES

there on an equal footing with her former enemies. Poincaré had been overthrown by the May elections in France, and so the path of the conference was made smoother. His successor Herriot, a Radical Socialist, managed to induce his country to accept the Dawes Plan.

That plan did not change the total sum of German reparations because France would not agree to any reduction of the amount stipulated in 1921. Germany was to pay 250 million dollars the first year, then for the next five years an increased amount, and from the sixth year on 620 millions annually until the whole amount was paid. A special commission would determine if at any time Germany's financial condition enabled her to pay more.

She would get a foreign loan of 800 million dollars. The rest she must pay from increased taxation, from a special tax laid on her industries, and from the profits of her railroads. A German National Bank would be created to direct the issue of paper money and to handle the sums to be paid for reparation. Its directorate would be supervised by a general board of fourteen members, seven of whom would be non-Germans. The plan went into operation on September 1, 1924. Soon after, the French began to retire from the Ruhr Valley and the British troops were recalled from the Rhine.

In 1929 a conference at Paris again took up the question of reparations. The plan adopted was largely the work of Mr. Owen D. Young, a private American citizen. It fixed the total of German reparations at about 24 billion dollars. Until 1966 Germany will pay 488 millions annually, from that date till 1988, an annual sum about equal to the amount the victors have to pay to the United States. All foreign troops are to be withdrawn from Germany by June 30, 1930.

581. Signs of Reconciliation. — One of the most hopeful signs of better international relations is the Locarno treaties. The question of exacting reparations from Germany was complicated because France insisted on both security and reparation. Germany was to be kept as weak as possible and at the same time was to pay the huge sums imposed upon her by the treaty of peace. It was, as a European statesman observed, "like trying to get the meat and the milk from the same cow."

The noticeable improvement in mutual understanding that followed the acceptance of the Dawes Plan encouraged several statesmen to take further steps. Already in September, 1924, the League of Nations had proposed that in future war as a means of settling disputes should be avoided in favor of arbitration. Some objections were raised by England against applying this principle to every part of the world. To meet this objection it was agreed to make the principle "regional," that is, to apply

it to certain areas in Europe which have frequently been the scene of bloody strife. After much preliminary discussion delegates from Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia met from October 5 to 16 at Locarno, a pretty little Swiss town near the Italian border. For the first time the former foes treated each other as equals. The principal agreements refer to the eastern and western boundaries of Germany as fixed by the peace treaties and plebiscites. France, Germany, and Belgium agree not to attack one another, but to submit all disputes to arbitration, to respect the boundaries established after the war and not to erect fortifications in the Rhineland. Likewise Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland promise to settle amicably all disputes before a special tribunal or the Permanent Court of International Justice or a special conciliation commission. France, Poland, and Czechoslovakia are to come to one another's assistance if Germany should violate the pledges made in the treaties.

It was arranged, too, that Germany at an early date should be admitted to the League of Nations and that the Locarno treaties should go into effect on that occasion. After several delays Germany by unanimous vote was received into the League and at the same time given a permanent seat in the Council, September 8, 1926. Though it would be imprudent to expect permanent peace and security from these treaties alone, the fact that they were made shows that the spirit of conciliation is here and there asserting itself in war-distracted Europe.

Recently a further step was taken toward maintaining international peace. At the suggestion of Frank Kellogg, Secretary of State of the United States, on August 27, 1928, fifteen governments signed the Kellogg-Briand treaty which had been made between France and the United States, by which they condemn "war as an instrument of national policy." In other words, they agree to settle all disputes by peaceful arbitration. A number of parliaments have signified their adherence, but some of them with the reservation that they

will go to war in self-defense and that they themselves determine what constitutes self-defense.

582. Austria. — Despite the frequent wrangling of the various nationalities in the old Dual Monarchy, at the outbreak of the war all factions expressed loyalty to the Hapsburg dynasty. At the same time hopes were entertained that their loyalty might be rewarded by a greater measure of self-government within the monarchy. As no steps were taken to meet their wishes and as the parliament was never summoned where they might have had an opportunity to air their grievances, loyalty gave way to discontent fostered by anti-Austrian propaganda.

When the aged emperor Francis Joseph died, November 21, 1916, his successor Charles determined to make such constitutional changes as would satisfy the non-German population. But the conflicting demands of the various groups rendered all such plans futile. The news of the Russian Revolution incited the Slavs in Austria to press their demands. When the government showed itself reluctant, Czechs and Poles and others decided for complete independence and the Slavs in Hungary followed their example. Various committees of these subject nationalities were formed in cities outside the empire and prevailed upon the Allied governments to recognize their aspirations.

The disasters at the front in October and November, 1918, were the signal for revolution in the Austrian capital. On November 3, Emperor Charles had to sign a humiliating armistice and eight days later he was forced to resign. Socialist and radical committees proclaimed the republic. We have seen (§ 564) how the peace treaty separated large portions from the old Hapsburg empire. It only ratified the action previously taken by the non-German races.

During the first year after the war it was generally feared that the new Republic of Austria would follow in the footsteps of the Russian Bolsheviks. But the elections in October, 1920, gave the parties of law and order a decided majority. A new

constitution was adopted which vested supreme authority in a two-chamber legislature and in a president with a cabinet responsible to parliament. The president is elected by the legislature and is also in other ways very dependent on that body, for he has to act through the ministry which stands and falls with the majority in parliament. The student will notice how nearly all the democracies in Europe follow in this matter the French rather than the American model. The provinces that were still left to Austria each have their own legislature, and thus the new republic became federal in character, like the United States and the German Republic.

The new state began its career amid appalling difficulties. The peace treaties had reduced the area of Austria to about one fourth of its former size and the population from twenty-eight to a little over six million. Nearly one third of these people live in the capital. Deprived by the peace treaties of its most fertile lands, the little republic was wholly unable to produce enough food for its inhabitants. The markets for its manufactured products were for the most part closed by the high tariffs with which every one of the new states surrounded itself. Unemployment increased, the government was without funds to buy food, and starvation stared in the face of large numbers. In addition to this, riots in Vienna and corruption in the administration blighted whatever hope there was of better things. Union with Germany, in which many saw a way out of the economic difficulties, was forbidden by the peace treaty.

In May, 1922, Ignaz Seipel, a priest and distinguished student of social problems, became head of the ministry, and with him the outlook for the poor republic became perceptibly brighter. He succeeded in persuading the League of Nations to come to the assistance of his stricken country. A loan of 135 million dollars was taken up and guaranteed by England, France, Italy, and other countries. A special commissioner was appointed by the League to supervise the Austrian administration. Expenses were cut down and the budget nearly balanced.

Although several strikes followed the reduction of wages and the many dismissals of government employees, the people on the whole showed confidence in the new plan and went to work hopefully. Much was done to develop to the utmost the resources of the little state, especially its rich supply of water power. By the end of 1923 the situation had much improved. The League of Nations was so satisfied with the progress made that by July, 1926, it abandoned its control of the Austrian administration.

An important political question continues to disturb the public mind in Austria. Historically Austria has so long formed a part of Germany, that is, of the Holy Roman Empire and of the German Confederation, disrupted by Bismarck in 1866 (§ 372), that the idea of union never died in the minds of the people. After the war it revived stronger than ever, for with the loss of all her non-German territories Austria seemed to fit easily into the German federal republic. But this union is forbidden to Austria by one of the clauses of the peace treaty. It can be accomplished only with the unanimous consent of the Council of the League, and both France and Italy have objected, the latter even declaring that any attempt at such a union would mean war. The agitation has somewhat abated but not stopped entirely. Probably the demand will be granted sooner or later, for it is such an obvious case of just and fair application of national self-determination.

583. Hungary. — Through the disastrous war and the treaty of peace imposed upon her, Hungary lost two thirds of her territory, and her population was reduced from twenty to less than eight millions. As elsewhere in the defeated countries the end of the war meant revolution. From November, 1918, to March, 1920, Hungary was a republic of the most radical type. A group of communists under the leadership of Bela Kun, a friend of Lenin, for most of that time wielded power and attempted to transform the country into a soviet republic after the Russian model. It inaugurated confiscation of lands and industries,

persecution of the Church, and a regular reign of terror against the adherents of the old régime. But its army was soon at war with Roumania and Czechoslovakia. When the Roumanians advanced towards the capital, Budapest, the Communist government resigned.

A violent reaction followed which dealt none too gently with the supporters of the soviets. The Roumanians were induced by the Allied Powers to retire, not, however, before they had pillaged the country and carried off much of its cattle and rolling stock. The elections of 1920 established the conservative element in power under the leadership of Admiral Nicholas Horthy. It was understood that the monarchy had not been legally abolished but that the king was temporarily "debarred from office." Horthy became regent or ruler for the absent king. The neighboring states let it be known that they would resist by force any attempt to restore the Hapsburgs on the throne of Hungary. In 1921 Charles, the exiled king and former Emperor of Austria, made two attempts to regain the Hungarian throne, the second by the novel method of flying by aëroplane from Switzerland to Hungary. Horthy failed to give support, and those who rallied around the returning monarch were too few. Charles gave himself over to the British authorities, who brought him to the island of Madeira, where death overtook him, April 1, 1922.

Economically Hungary passed through the same crisis as Austria and relief came from the same source. The country obtained an international loan and was put under the supervision of the League of Nations. Since then the recovery of the country has been remarkable. Hungary is a country devoted chiefly to agriculture and is so fertile that even in average years the crops are sufficient for the home supply and leave a surplus for export.

584. Troubles in the Near East. — We have seen how after the armistice the sultan at Constantinople entered into negotiations with the Allies and, in 1920, signed a humiliating peace

(§ 565). Against this cowardly conduct, as they considered it, patriotic Turks under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha raised the standard of revolt, convoked a Turkish National Assembly at Angora in the heart of Asia Minor, and refused to ratify the treaty. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Allies with Russia, Kemal first destroyed the newly erected republic in Armenia and massacred and expelled the helpless inhabitants.

He next boldly forced the Italians out of southern Anatolia and the French out of Cilicia. Italy and France, jealous of the advantages conferred on Great Britain by the peace treaty, came to an agreement with Kemal and for certain trade concessions restored Anatolia and Cilicia to Turkey. An alliance with the Russian Bolsheviks against "western imperialism" strengthened the position of Kemal considerably. Great Britain, fearing that a Turkish attack upon her own acquisition in Asia Minor would come next, welcomed a proposal of Greece that a Greek army should march against the Turkish Nationalists. This Greek army advanced from Smyrna on the Ægean coast of Asia Minor into the interior. But after a few initial successes it was utterly routed by Kemal Pasha. Triumphantly the Turks possessed themselves of almost the whole of Asia Minor. On November 3, 1922, the sultan was deposed and the Turkish republic proclaimed. Turkish republican soldiers entered Constantinople.

Kemal then demanded the revision of the peace treaty and, through the indifference of France and Italy, was able to obtain more favorable terms. After long negotiations a new treaty was signed on July 24, 1923, in Lausanne, Switzerland. Turkey was given back the whole of Asia Minor, except Palestine, the trans-Jordan territory, Mesopotamia, and Syria. Constantinople and Adrianople together with eastern Thrace likewise came again under Turkish rule. The Greeks were the heaviest losers. Besides surrendering everything in Asia Minor and Thrace in Europe to the Turks, they had to hand over to Italy

twelve islands in the Ægean. A million Greek inhabitants of Asia Minor, whose home had been there since ancient times, were forced to give up their lands and seek a refuge in Greece.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR ON THE VICTORS

585. Force of the Principle of Nationality. — During the Great War the statesmen of both sides did everything in their power to nerve the people for the enormous sacrifices demanded of them. They appealed chiefly to the sentiments that throughout the nineteenth century had been impressed on the hearts of Europeans and had often stirred them into action, the principles of nationality and of democracy. The Allies pointed to Germany and Austria as states where people were forced to live under an alien government and where the share of the people in the government was very small. In reply the German and Austrian leaders scornfully held up to ridicule autocratic and corrupt Russia and, at times, reminded the English of Ireland and India as examples of enslaved nations.

The people of the defeated countries took these criticisms to heart. We have seen how in answer to popular demands the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary were transformed. Germany had to give up districts that looked upon the government at Berlin as an alien government, Alsace-Lorraine, the Danish parts of Schleswig, and her eastern Polish-speaking provinces. Russia for the same reason lost her Baltic provinces. Austria-Hungary and Turkey were torn to pieces by the force of nationality.

586. Great Britain. — To some extent even the victors themselves were to experience the power of these principles. Naturally the British Empire, made up of so many races and spreading out into every quarter of the globe, felt their influence more than the other Allied states. British statesmen found it expedient to make concessions to the self-governing dominions. They were favored with seats in the League of Nations like other independent states. An imperial conference

held in London in October and November, 1926, went far towards changing the British Empire into a federation of equal states in which the self-governing dominions of Canada, Australia, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland, Southern Rhodesia, and New Zealand partly conduct their own foreign affairs, make treaties, and send out ambassadors just as the mother country does. These changes were agreed on amicably. "British Commonwealth of Nations" is now the official name of the British Empire.

More serious were at times the relations of the mother country with the crown colonies. In the beginning of the war England proclaimed a British protectorate over *Egypt* and appointed a sultan of Egypt. This terminated whatever rights the Turkish sultan still possessed in the Nile Valley. But it did not inaugurate self-government. On the contrary during the war England ruled in Egypt with a high hand and ruthlessly suppressed any agitation for independence. The refusal of the British to listen to the demands of the Egyptians led to serious and bloody riots in 1919 and again in 1921.

The London government finally became convinced that it was no longer possible to hold Egypt in bondage, and in 1922 Lloyd George, then still prime minister, declared that the English protectorate should be terminated. But the "protection of Egypt" against any foreign power, the control of the Suez canal and of the Egyptian Sudan should remain in British hands. Egypt, in the following year, gave herself a constitution. But most Egyptians were not satisfied with the measure of freedom they obtained. They objected especially to the presence of British troops for the protection of the Suez canal and most of all to the retention of the Sudan by Great Britain. As Egypt depends entirely on the Nile and as the upper course of that river with its irrigation dams is under English control, the Egyptians fear the strangle hold that England has on them. In November, 1924, Sir Lee Stack, the English governor of the Sudan, was assassinated in the streets of Cairo by a band of

Egyptian students. England thereupon strengthened her control over Egypt by presenting drastic demands : Egypt was to apologize and pay a heavy indemnity, withdraw its troops from the Sudan, and punish the criminals. After a fruitless appeal to the League of Nations the Egyptians were forced to submit.

India loyally supported the mother country during the greater part of the war. The many professions by Allied statesmen of their belief in democracy and self-determination, however, had their effect on India, and by 1916 the British government in India was confronted by an awakened national sentiment. Under the influence of the National League for India and the Moslem League the demand for Indian home rule became widespread.

England thought it wise to make concessions, and, in 1919, parliament passed the Government of India Bill. It provided that in certain provinces the powers of government should be divided between the British governor and a ministry responsible to an elected legislature. At the same time it extended somewhat the franchise for provincial elections. For the general government of India there was a two-chamber legislature. The majority of the members of both houses was to be elected, a minority appointed by the governor-general, or viceroy, of India. The latter official could enact legislation and also veto laws made by the legislature. He and his assistants were not responsible to the legislature. According to the declaration of its authors this arrangement was to be temporary and only a step towards the gradual introduction of self-government.

The Indian nationalists were little satisfied with this measure. Riots and retaliations were frequent in the first years after the war. The Hindus found an able leader in a certain Gandhi, who recommended to his followers passive resistance, that is, boycotting English goods and refusing to coöperate with the English officials. The Mohammedans, a minority but a very aggressive section of the Indian population, were offended by the treatment meted out to Turkey in the peace treaties. A meeting of

the Indian National Congress in 1921 recommended the methods of Gandhi. Early in 1922 the English put Gandhi under arrest. Then the unrest gradually abated, chiefly, it seems, because the boycott against European goods could not be maintained. It must be admitted, too, that on the whole British officials acted prudently and exasperated the people as little as possible. Finally Gandhi himself from prison advised his friends to give up noncoöperation. When he was released after two years' confinement he had lost much of his influence and retired for a while from political life. Disunion among the nationalists weakened the movement for home rule, and, for a time at least, England seemed again secure in her control of India.

587. Ireland. — The Green Isle presented, perhaps, the most perplexing problem to British statesmen. Some years before the war Irish scholars and patriots started a movement known as Sinn Fein ("We Ourselves"). The Irish people, they insisted, must prepare for self-government by reviving a sense of their distinct nationality. Hence they worked for a revival of the Irish, or Gaelic, language and of interest in the rich Irish literature of former times. Irish customs and Irish art, too, were to be made popular again after the long predominance of English influence.

At first the movement kept aloof from politics, but when in the beginning of the Great War the Irish Home Rule Act was indefinitely postponed (§ 410) and when it became plainer every day that it would never be enforced without concessions to Ulster, the Sinn Fein became the avowed opponent of the Irish Nationalist Party, which had consented to the postponement of home rule.

In April, 1916, certain Irish patriots organized a rising in Dublin, the "Easter Rebellion," and proclaimed the independence of Ireland. The rebellion was speedily put down by British machine guns and the leaders severely punished. Fifteen of them were executed and a hundred more put in prison. The executions aroused such a storm of anger that the majority of

the Irish people ceased to support the Home Rule leaders and went over to the Sinn Fein. In the elections for the British Parliament of 1918 the Irish candidates chosen did not join their colleagues in London but set up a parliament of their own in Dublin and appointed one of the leading Sinn Feiners, Eamon De Valera, President of the Irish Republic. For the next three years the country was harassed by a desperate struggle between the Irish Republicans, poorly armed and without resources, and the British military forces.

Finally the English Prime Minister, Lloyd George, invited the Sinn Feiners, hitherto regarded as "rebels," to negotiate with him. They arrived at an agreement on December 6, 1921, for the organization of the Irish Free State. The new government was to have practically the same status as Canada. Ireland was to have its own parliament and its own army. Its harbors and other facilities are, however, at the disposal of the British fleet in time of war or strained relations. The six counties of Ulster might join the Free State if they wished or have a government of their own. They chose the latter. The members of the Irish parliament were to take an oath of allegiance to the British king. The treaty was accepted by a bare majority of the Irish parliament in January, 1922. De Valera himself and a considerable minority rejected it, chiefly because of the oath of allegiance to King George. The Irish Free State began its career amid desultory warfare between the upholders of the Free State and those who stood out for complete independence. For a year the country was again filled with the horrors of civil war, destruction of property, and political assassinations. Gradually the new government obtained control of the situation and began constructive work for the development of Ireland's resources. Ireland is a member of the League of Nations and is represented in Washington by a minister.

588. Extension of Democracy. — The Great War was disastrous to monarchies and greatly enlarged the number of republics. Three old dynasties that had played a prominent part

in European politics disappeared, the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanovs. All the new states created by the war, with the exception of Yugoslavia, were republics.

In the victorious states, also, the masses clamored so loudly for more political rights that their governments had to make concessions. England, in 1918, had to abolish her unequal franchise and to grant the vote to all males over twenty and to nearly all females over twenty-nine. In 1928 the suffrage was extended to all women over twenty-one. The electoral districts were laid out more evenly on the basis of one member for the House of Commons to every 70,000 people. France, in 1919, introduced an electoral reform which gave better representation to minorities. Belgium in the same year abolished her system of plural voting (§ 472) in favor of universal equal franchise. Two years earlier Holland had enacted a similar measure. Italy in the year following the war made the vote practically universal. As the pope withdrew completely the former prohibition against taking part in national politics (§ 455), the number of voters greatly increased.

Woman suffrage, too, made great strides. Before the Great War women exercised the franchise in only four countries, but they have this right now in every European state except France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. American women likewise enjoy this privilege and the idea is growing in Japan, China, Egypt, and elsewhere.

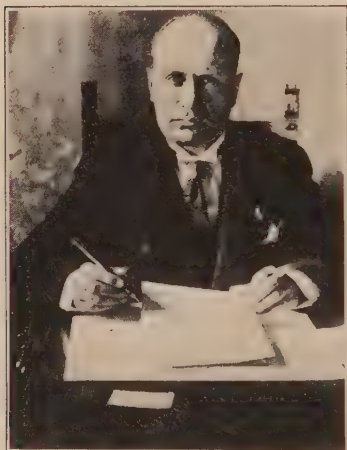
589. Reaction against Democracy.—In spite of its great growth after the war, the enthusiasm for democracy and more democracy is by no means shared by all Europeans. The extension of the franchise benefited socialism in most cases, and since the war radical socialism has received a great impetus from Russian Bolshevism. Not content to wait until the ideal state of the future is attained by a gradual evolution, it preached violence, overthrow of the existing capitalistic state, dictatorship of the proletariat, and similar measures. Conservatives of every kind, Christians who abhorred the irreligion and immoral-

ity of the Bolshevik régime, monarchists who longed for the return of the exiled kings, men of property who had everything to lose by the overthrow of the established order, patriots who resented the international intrigues of the communists, looked with apprehension on the enfranchisement of the masses and their control of parliaments. Others were disgusted with the constant party strife in parliaments which often neglected the vital interests of the nation for the selfish interests of a few professional politicians. Soon after the revolutions in central Europe several futile attempts were made in Germany, Austria, and Hungary to restore the old régime.

590. Fascism in Italy. — The most notable example of reaction against democracy was in Italy. For three years after the war that country was distracted by the most violent manifestations of socialism. The Socialists looked to Russia for inspiration and openly threatened revolution. Their nationalist opponents then began to form local organizations and armed bands who took the name Fascisti. At first they met the Socialists on their own ground, that is, opposed violence by violence. In the years 1920 and 1921 almost every city and industrial center was the scene of bloody strife and destruction of property. Meanwhile the government looked on helplessly. The Fascisti gradually got the upper hand and under the leadership of Benito Mussolini, himself a former Socialist, decided to take over the government.

In October, 1922, a large army of black-shirted Fascists marched upon Rome. The cabinet at once resigned, and the frightened king summoned Mussolini to form a new cabinet. On the day the Fascisti entered Rome Mussolini declared: "To-day Italy has not only a cabinet, but a government." This soon became the real truth, for the intimidated parliament gave the new dictator practically absolute power. This he used fearlessly and relentlessly. The franchise was again very much curtailed, provincial and town elections abolished, and all local government centralized in the hands of appointees of the dictator.

Undoubtedly most of the measures of the new government have been popular. Great savings were made in the administration without impairing its efficiency. Many state monopolies, sources of much "graft" in the old régime, were put back into private hands. Extraordinary sums were devoted to public works.



International Newsreel

BENITO MUSSOLINI

Religious instruction was restored in the state schools. We have already seen how the Roman Question (§ 455) was solved. At the same time Mussolini concluded a concordat with the Holy See which guaranteed religious instruction in the state schools, recognized marriages contracted before a pastor, and restored the freedom of the Church in appointing bishops.

On the other hand, the Fascists almost completely suppressed free speech, criticism of the government, and associations and labor unions not identified with the Fascist organization.

Mussolini created a new militia of about 80,000 men, consisting entirely of his own adherents. With this strong arm the dictator succeeded in overawing all opposition. Communists and other elements have tried repeatedly to overthrow the Fascist government but without success. Their leaders were imprisoned or went into voluntary exile. In general there has been a notable increase in honesty and efficiency of the administration but with a loss of individual liberty. In a speech in the fall of 1925, Mussolini himself thus expressed his notion of liberty: "There can be no such thing as liberty. Liberty exists only in the imagination of philosophers who seek their

impractical philosophy from the skies. Civilization is the inversion of personal liberty. . . . Those who would benefit from the advantages of civilization must necessarily pay in the coin of personal freedom. . . . Julius Caesar is my ideal, my master, the greatest man who ever lived."

The foreign policy of the Fascist government has at times been as high-handed as its handling of domestic affairs. There have been clashes with Greece, tense relations with Yugoslavia over control of the eastern Adriatic coast, and hostile feelings against France. The special rights of the German and Slavic peoples in the newly acquired provinces in northeastern Italy have been ruthlessly overridden, despite all the promises made in the peace treaties. A closer understanding was reached with Spain.

591. Other Dictatorships. — The example of Mussolini, the threat of socialist revolutions, selfish bickerings of political parties in parliaments, have led to a clamor for the strong man and similar dictatorships in Spain, Bulgaria, Poland, and several other states of Europe, especially the new ones. In Spain, in 1923, a group of army officers led by General Primo de Rivera, incensed by the failure to suppress risings in Spanish Morocco, took control of affairs. Ministry and parliament were dismissed, and a military directorate established that took over all functions of government, the king consenting. The people as a whole took it calmly, even enthusiastically, when they saw one after another of the old abuses, official dishonesty, freedom for criminals, and antireligious laws, disappear under the energetic hand of the dictator, de Rivera. Unlike Mussolini, the new Spanish government looked upon the new régime as only temporary. A new constitution eventually was to restore some sort of parliament elected by a carefully limited franchise.

A few months before the Spanish *coup d'état*, Bulgarian army officers overthrew and killed the pacific premier and established a military government at Sofia, the Bulgarian capital. Fear of rampant communism was the motive.

Poland recently conferred almost absolute powers on her war hero, General Pilsudski. Backed by the army, he overthrew the cabinet, whereupon the parliament conferred upon him permanent command of the army subject to no check on the part of any civilian body. For a while he was prime minister with power to issue decrees of binding force whenever the parliament was not in session.

In 1929, the king of Yugoslavia suspended the constitution and the tumultuous parliament and assumed dictatorial powers. We have mentioned the case of Turkey (§ 584).

It is as yet too early to measure the importance of these movements. It is possible that they are merely the outcome of war-time practices when the governments had to assume more or less autocratic power in order to assure speed and efficiency in adapting the resources of the nation to abnormal conditions. Debates in parliaments would, it was felt, have delayed action where promptness was all-important. But this recent popularity of one-man government may also be a reaction against the abuses of modern parliamentary government that wasted so much time and money in useless party strife, in which often not the welfare of the people but personal advantages of party leaders and supporters were the main object.

Post-war Europe has not yet returned to normal conditions. There is much national hatred and rivalry, sullen anger among the vanquished, jealousy among the victors, whose appetite for territory and concessions has been whetted but not satisfied. On the other hand, the appalling calamities of the Great War have evoked in many men and women a strong desire to do everything for better understanding between nations and to provide means and ways of settling disputes peaceably. Here and there, too, thoughtful men outside the Church begin to see that Europe has followed too long the gospel of material success and that its only hope lies in a return to the Gospel of Christ, justice and charity to all.

APPENDIX

EXERCISES

The following suggestions are intended to assist the teacher in enlarging upon the contents of each chapter. They may be used for home assignments or for class reports of various lengths, to be prepared either by the class or by selected students. They should not take the place of the ordinary recitation or daily "quizzing" by the instructor but should supplement these class activities. How much or how little of these exercises should be carried out must be left to the judgment of the teacher.

The exercises consist of questions designed to make the student reflect on the matter covered and also group together material distributed over several sections or even chapters. The suggestions for reading will give opportunity for special papers and will guide the inquisitive student in acquiring further information.

Certain exercises are not mentioned in these suggestions because they may be applied to almost every chapter in the book. Such practices as brief summaries of whole chapters in the student's own words, map exercises, the compilation of chronological lists of events, drills in dates, repetitions by means of catchwords, etc., should by no means be omitted.

Certain works are frequently referred to by the following abbreviations:

Hayes — Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, 2 volumes.

H. T. F. — Francis S. Betten, S.J., *Historical Terms and Facts*.

E. H. — James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History*, 2 volumes.

M. E. H. — James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*, 2 volumes.

Ren. to Rev. — James MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution*, 2 volumes.

19th C. — James MacCaffrey, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 volumes.

Guggenberger — Anthony Guggenberger, S.J., *History of the Christian Era*, 3 volumes.

Introduction. (1) After you have studied what is characteristic of modern history, try to find two or three points in which it resembles ancient (especially Roman) history, and likewise two or three points of similarity with medieval history. (2) Is it easier to show the principle of continuity in American or in European history? Why? (3) In your study of the last chapters of medieval history did you notice any signs of the approach of modern times in the position of the nobility or in the development of cities?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, Introduction; Betten, *Ancient and Medieval History*, §§ 641, 644.

Chapter I. (1) Compare the boundaries in a map of the Europe of 1500 and a map of present-day Europe, and guess some of the topics to be treated in this book. (2) What are the meanings of the terms *absolute monarchy*, *limited monarchy*, *republic*, and *oligarchy*? (3) Was the power of a medieval monarch in any way limited? How? (4) Give some advantages of the guilds. Why are they impossible under present conditions? Why were they even in the sixteenth century a hindrance to manufacture? (5) What is the difference between a serf and a modern tenant farmer? (6) Can you mention some problems of a modern city government which did not worry a medieval magistrate? (7) Compare the style of St. Peter's church in Rome with that of a Gothic cathedral. What differences do you notice? Which style do you prefer? Why? Do you know of some churches in your own city or town built in the Gothic style? in the Renaissance style? (8) Which evils in the Church of the end of the fifteenth century were the most serious ones? Did the reforms mentioned in § 21 cure these evils?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chaps. I, II, V; L. B. Packard, *The Commercial Revolution* (Berkshire Series); *H. T. F.* (on types of government); *Ren. to Rev.*, I, chap. I (on the Church just before the Reformation).

Chapter II. (1) How is a person in the state of sin to be reconciled to God according to Catholic doctrine? according to Luther's view? (2) Why was Luther consistent with his view on justification when he denied the sacraments? (3) Who were Luther's staunchest supporters after the Peasants' War? (4) Why did Lutheranism promote the absolutism of the German princes? (5) Write a brief report on the Sack of Rome (§ 34). (6) Were Charles V's vast dominions a help or a hindrance to the rapid spread of Protestantism? Why?

Readings: *Ren. to Rev.*, I, chaps. II, III; *Hayes*, I, chap. III; *Guggenberger*, II, §§ 188-235 (on Sack of Rome see § 218); *Wedewer-McDorley*, *Church History*, §§ 157-173. The *Catholic Encyclopedia*

contains valuable information under the articles *Reformation*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, etc.

Chapter III. (1) Can you find some reasons why Henry VIII did not wish to make his church Lutheran or Calvinistic? Would Lutheranism have been a danger to the throne? (2) Why was the possession of Calais important for England? Had it possessed greater importance in a former period? Why? (3) Why have the clergy in the present Church of England no valid orders? (4) Why did Mary Stuart, by her descent, have a better right to the English throne than Elizabeth? Was that right acknowledged later on? On what occasion? (See § 93.) (5) What were the reasons for Elizabeth's hatred of Mary Stuart? (6) Write a brief report on the Babington Conspiracy. (See Lingard-Birt, p. 399.) (7) What contemporary events in France and the Netherlands are likely to have influenced Elizabeth's religious policy?

Readings: Lingard-Birt, *History of England*, chaps. XIX-XXIII; the histories of England by Cross and Larson. For religious events see *Ren. to Rev.*, II, chaps. I-IV; A. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*; John Pollen, S.J., *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1558-1580*; Hayes, I, p. 148.

Chapter IV. (1) Which doctrines defined by the Council of Trent were directly opposed to the teaching of Luther and Calvin? (2) Name four or five great saints of the sixteenth century whose work and example greatly contributed to the revival of religious life. Write a short sketch of the life of St. Francis Xavier. When did St. Aloysius live?

Readings: *Ren. to Rev.*, I, chaps. IV, V; biographies of St. Francis Xavier by M. T. Kelly and Coleridge; of St. Peter Canisius by Francis S. Betten; of St. Charles Borromeo by E. Thompson; of St. Aloysius by Martindale.

Chapter V. (1) Show that neither in the rebellion of the Netherlands nor in the Huguenot Wars nor in the Thirty Years' War were the leaders animated by purely religious motives. (2) Write a special report on the battle of Lepanto (see note to § 72). (3) Was the Edict of Nantes a wise measure? Why? (4) Is the system of universal military service of modern states to be preferred to the armies of mercenaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Why? (5) What events do you connect with the dates 1517, 1534, 1555, 1571, 1598, 1618, and 1648? (6) At the end of the Thirty Years' War which parts of Europe were Protestant and which remained Catholic?

Readings: Hayes, I, chaps. III, VI; Guggenberger, II, pp. 308-482; Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*.

Chapter VI. (1) Did the economic prosperity of England in the sixteenth century necessarily mean that the bulk of her people were pros-

perous? If not, why not? (2) Which religious party, the supporters of the Anglican Church or the supporters of the Puritans, resembled more the Protestants of the continent? Why did Elizabeth, though indifferent in matters of religion, oppose Puritanism? (3) Find out from your American history in which American colonies the Puritans and opponents of the Anglicans were strongest. (4) Why did the English Reformation strengthen the royal power and weaken parliament?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. vii; Cross, *History of England*, chap. xxvi. See also the books mentioned for Chapter III.

Chapter VII. (1) Write a short account of the Gunpowder Plot. (See the *Catholic Encyclopedia* or *Ren. to Rev.*, II, chap. v.) (2) When the Stuarts became kings of England, were England and Scotland as closely united as now? What right to the English throne had the Stuarts? (3) Give a summary of the religious and political motives of those who opposed Charles I. (4) Can you mention two or three points in which the power of the English parliament under the Stuarts differed from that of our American congress? Why are regular meetings of parliament independent of the king's summons a protection of the rights of the people?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. viii; Lingard-Birt, *History of England*, chaps. xiv, xv; Cross, *History of England*, chaps. xxvii-xxix; *Ren. to Rev.*, II, chap. v.

Chapter VIII. (1) Why did the Catholics during the Civil War generally side with the king? (2) Why could Cromwell's government never be popular in England? (3) How did the Navigation Acts affect the commerce of the English colonies in America? Did such legislation later on have something to do with the American Revolution? How? (4) Write a special report on the massacre of Drogheda (Ireland). (5) To what extent was Cromwell willing to grant toleration in religious matters?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. viii; Cross, *History of England*, chap. xxxi; Lingard-Birt, *History of England*, chaps. xxv, xxvi; Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland*; Gwynn, *History of Ireland*, chaps. xxv-xxix; D'Alton, *History of Ireland*, III, chap. xiv.

Chapter IX. (1) Compare the provisions of the Bill of Rights of 1689 with the Great Charter of 1215 (Betten, *Ancient and Medieval History*, p. 410), and notice the progress in political liberty. (2) Write a short account of the Titus Oates Plot. (See the *Catholic Encyclopedia* or *Ren. to Rev.*, II, p. 166.) (3) What is cabinet government? Compare it with our American government and state the difference. (4) Is there any similarity between the pardoning power of American

state governors and the dispensing power of the English kings? What is the difference?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. viii; Cross, *History of England*, chaps. xxxiii-xxxv; Lingard-Birt, *History of England*, chaps. xxvii, xxviii; *Ren. to Rev.*, II, chap. v, for religious conditions. For a brief summary of the Penal Laws see *Guggenberger*, III, §§ 9-14. For a more extended treatment see Cardinal Moran, *The Catholics in Ireland under the Penal Laws*, or Gwynn, *History of Ireland*, chap. xxxii.

Chapter X. (1) What parts of the present United States were claimed by Spain, France, and England in 1700? (2) Why was self-government an almost immediate success in English America after it had gained independence? (3) Write a special report on any one of the great French missionaries of North America, Bl. Brebeuf or Bl. Jogues or Marquette (see Campbell). (4) Find out in which sections of America the Spanish missionaries were especially active (see Bolton and Marshall). Write a special report on Juan de Padilla and Junípero Serra.

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. ix; Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America*; Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America*; Agnes Repplier, *Père Marquette*; the *Catholic Encyclopedia* under Serra and Padilla.

Chapter XI. (1) What is princely absolutism? (2) If the office of President of the United States were hereditary, why would even then our government not be an absolute monarchy? (3) Who issued the Edict of Nantes? What did it say? Who abolished it? (4) Summarize the conquests of France between 1555 and 1714 (use the index at the end of the book). (5) Why did the loss of Newfoundland endanger the rest of the French colonies in North America?

Readings: See *Hayes*, I, chap. vii, on the whole period; *Ren. to Rev.* I, chap. iii. For text of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes see *E. H.*, II, p. 287.

Chapter XII. (1) Can you indicate any points of similarity between the westward expansion of the United States and the eastward expansion of Russia? (2) What was Peter the Great's idea of Western civilization and why was it too narrow? Why did his reforms not aim at a betterment of the lives of the common people?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. xii. For the personality of Peter the Great see *M. E. H.*, I, pp. 57 ff. For his religious "reforms" see *Guggenberger*, III, chap. ii.

Chapter XIII. (1) Write a brief sketch of the rise and fall of the French colonial empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (2) Why did sea power help the English to win New France? (3) Ex-

plain how England put restrictions on the commerce and industry of America. What was mercantilism (see *Hayes*)?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chaps. ix-xi; Cross, *History of England*, chaps. xli, xlii.

Chapter XIV. (1) Give an account of the siege of Vienna from Sobieski's own description (see *E. H.*). (2) Write a short account of Kosciuszko's life (consult an encyclopedia).

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. xii; *E. H.*, II, p. 312. For Josephism, see *Ren. to Rev.*, I, chap. vii.

Chapter XV. (1) Can you give several reasons why the esteem of the French people for their kings declined during the reign of Louis XV? (2) Can you point out any resemblance of character between Louis XVI and James II of England? (3) What provisions are there in our American constitution that prevent certain mistakes in legislation on internal commerce frequently made by the French laws of the eighteenth century? (4) What provisions in our constitution forbid abuses like the *lettres de cachet*? (5) Special reports: The suppression of the Jesuits, Maria Theresa's advice to her daughter Marie Antoinette, some demands of the people as expressed in the *cahiers*.

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chaps. xiii, xv. Most histories of the French Revolution discuss its causes. Mallet and Shailer Mathews are perhaps the most suitable for students. Belloc has good sketches of the leading characters. For Maria Theresa's letter to her daughter and for extracts from the *cahiers*, see *E. H.*, I, chaps. xxiv, xxv. *Ren. to Rev.*, I, chaps. vii and viii, should be read for the religious conditions on the eve of the Revolution.

Chapter XVI. (1) Was it wise on the part of the National Assembly to abolish altogether the old provinces of France? Compare its measures with the action of the American constitutional assembly in regard to the states. (2) Show by several instances that the National Assembly in general favored the middle class. (3) For what reasons did Pope Pius VI condemn the Civil Constitution of the Clergy? Why did resistance to the Revolution after the passage of this constitution become a matter of conscience with loyal Catholics? (4) Give a brief comparison of Mirabeau and Danton. (5) Why would it have been wiser for the king to go from Paris to the interior of France instead of fleeing to the eastern frontier? (6) Why was the influence of the queen in political matters unfortunate for the monarchy?

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. xv. For a more extended treatment, consult the excellent history of the Revolution by Madelin, part I, or Shailer Mathews, part III. *19th C.*, I, chap. i, tells the story of the fortunes of the Church during the Revolution. The text of *The*

Rights of Man and of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy will be found in *M. E. H.*, I, pp. 260, 273.

Chapter XVII. (1) Show how the strength of the republican and radical elements grew, by comparing the parties in the first National Assembly with those in the Legislative Assembly and in the Convention. (2) Why did the Convention of 1792 really not represent the mass of the people? (3) What factors account for the victories of the French troops over their powerful opponents abroad? (4) Why did not the opponents of the Jacobin rule at home offer a united resistance to the Reign of Terror? (5) Why could the Jacobins for the most atrocious measures successfully appeal to the patriotism of the masses? (6) Write a brief account of the execution of Louis XVI (consult Birkhead).

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. xv, and the authors mentioned in the previous chapter. For a vivid description of details, see Alice Birkhead, *The Story of the French Revolution*. On the Vendean rising, see Hill, *The Story of the War in La Vendée and the Little Chouannerie*.

Chapters XVIII and XIX. (1) By what measures did Napoleon Bonaparte bring order out of the chaos of the Revolution? (2) What features of the Concordat were commendable? What points were unfavorable to religion? (3) Explain how the constitution of the Consulate placed almost all powers of government in the hands of the First Consul. (4) Explain Bonaparte's schemes for the acquisition of colonies. Why was he so willing to sell Louisiana to the United States? Why was Jefferson equally anxious to buy it? (5) Write a brief sketch of Napoleon's early life.

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. xvi. The best life of Napoleon in English is that of J. H. Rose (2 volumes bound in one). For Napoleon's early life, see Rose, chaps. I-III; for his colonial schemes, chap. xv. On Napoleon's relations to the Church read *19th C.*, I, chap. 1, c and d.

Chapter XX. (1) What were the general reasons why Napoleon's empire could not last (see *Hayes*)? (2) Why did Napoleon's continental blockade involve him in war with nearly all Europe? (3) What injuries did the United States suffer from Napoleon? from England? (4) How did Napoleon make use of the schools to teach loyalty to the emperor (see *E. H.*, II, p. 509)? (5) Why was the march to Moscow in 1812 a foolhardy enterprise from the outset? Why were the Russians helped by the nature of their territory more than any other European country? Has the United States similar advantages? (6) Which was the more important battle in bringing about the fall of Napoleon, Leipzig or Waterloo? If he had won the battle of Waterloo, could his empire have endured much longer? (7) Make special reports

on Napoleon's divorce and on the annexation of the Papal States (consult *19th C.* or *Guggenberger*).

Readings: *Hayes*, I, chap. xvi; Rose, *Napoleon I*, II. For the whole period 1789–1815, see a shorter work of Rose, *The Revolutionary Era and Napoleon*. For a brief and clear treatment, see Shailer Mathews, Part V (enlarged edition, 1923). For a sober and critical estimate of Napoleon, read Seeley, *Napoleon I*. A large popular life is Sloane, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, 4 volumes, richly illustrated. Rosebery, *The Last Phase*, treats Napoleon in exile on St. Helena.

Chapters XXI and XXII. (1) What changes did the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland undergo between 1773 and 1814? (Study map on page 174.) (2) Can you find any similarity between the German Confederation and the United States under the Articles of Confederation? (3) Trace the growth of Prussia between 1618 and 1815. (4) Show that the strong feeling of nationality so noticeable in the nineteenth century is partly an outcome of the demand for more democracy. (5) Point out four or five instances where the feeling of nationality was disregarded by the Congress of Vienna.

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xvii. For a more detailed narrative, see Hazen, *Europe since 1815*. For the religious revival on the continent, consult *19th C.*, I, chaps. i, ii.

Chapters XXIII and XXIV. (1) Why did the success of the Greek rebellion weaken the influence of Metternich and the Holy Alliance? (2) Why did England's interests prompt her to refuse coöperation with the Holy Alliance, especially in reconquering the Spanish-American colonies? (See *M. E. H.*, II, p. 40.) (3) What precisely did the Monroe Doctrine declare with regard to the American continent? Was there any reason to fear European interference? (4) When the South American colonies became independent, did they have as much training in self-government as the North American colonies in 1776?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xvii. For President Monroe's message see *M. E. H.*, II, p. 42. For Church and State in France and Spain see *19th C.*, I, chap. i, *e* and *f*; chap. v, *a* and *b*. See also Hazen, *Europe since 1815*.

Chapters XXV and XXVI. (1) What advantages and drawbacks do you note in the old guild system of manufacture when you compare it with the modern factory system? (2) What changes did a man have to make in his life if he moved from the farm to the factory? (3) Can you mention any laws of our country which prevent some of the evils of the factory system? (4) Why is it better if, as a rule, the man who tills the soil owns the soil?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xviii. On the Industrial Revolution in

England, consult the excellent little book, Cheyney, *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*. In *M. E. H.*, II, chap. xviii, there is source material for special reports on the inventors of the steam engine and the spinning jenny, on Samuel Crompton, etc. See also F. Dietz, *The Industrial Revolution*, in the Berkshire Series.

Chapter XXVII. (1) Would our laws against child labor and those for the preservation of the health of workingmen be acceptable to the adherents of the *laissez-faire* theory? (2) Why does the *laissez-faire* theory favor the rich rather than the poor? (3) Are those who favor public ownership of railroads, electric power plants, street car systems, etc., necessarily socialists? (4) Is thoroughgoing socialism possible as long as men are unequally gifted? (5) Why is the belief in a life hereafter necessary to make men contented here below? (6) Find out the strength of the socialists in this country. Why are they weaker than in other countries?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xxi. There is a rich Catholic literature on the problems of social justice. Most of these writings give sketches of the socialist theory. Consult Cathrein-Gettelmann, *Socialism, Its Theoretical Basis and Its Practical Application*; Bishop Stang, *Socialism and Christianity*; B. Elder, *A Study in Socialism*; Jos. Husslein, *Democratic Industry*. W. Poland's pamphlet, *Socialism, Its Economic Aspect*, gives a clear refutation on purely economic grounds. *19th C.*, I, chaps. xi, xii, may be used for a special report on the progress of socialism in Europe and likewise on the progress of the Catholic labor movement.

Chapter XXVIII. (1) Is the *laissez-faire* theory in some way responsible for the rapid increase of socialism in France during the first half of the nineteenth century? Who first advocated the "right to work"? (2) Was there any truth in the "Napoleonic legend"? Was the great Napoleon in any sense a true benefactor of his country? (See §§ 261-263.) (3) Louis Bonaparte during the terrible June Days of 1848 was abroad. Did he derive any advantage from this fact in the presidential election in December? (4) Write a special report on the February Days in Paris in 1848 (see *M. E. H.*, II, p. 79.)

Readings: *Hayes*, II, p. 116; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chap. ix; *M. E. H.*, chap. xix.

Chapter XXIX. (1) Compare the career of Napoleon III between 1848 and 1852 with that of his uncle between 1799 and 1804 and show where the nephew followed the footsteps of his "great uncle." (2) In what points did the constitution of the Second Empire resemble those of the Consulate and the First Empire? (3) Did the Crimean War secure any real advantages to France? (4) Was the United States

justified in regarding the policy of Napoleon III as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, pp. 116 ff. and pp. 175 ff.; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chaps. ix, xii. For an interesting characterization of Napoleon III by an American (Dr. Evans), see *M. E. H.*, II, p. 92.

Chapter XXX. (1) Why were the ideas of the French Revolution in the long run bound to be disastrous to the unity of the Hapsburg lands? (2) Show that the German Confederation, to judge from the attitude of the various parties in the Frankfurt Parliament, was not popular with any party. Why was it not popular? (3) When and how did Prussia become a serious rival of Austria? (4) Would the success of the Frankfurt Parliament have been desirable in the interest of democracy? (5) Is there any difference between the leaders and parties who worked for German unity in 1848 and those who revolted in favor of Italian unity in the same years? Would you have wished the latter to succeed? (6) Could the pope, as ruler of the Papal States, in the interests of religion have consented to a confederation of the Italian states such as the Moderates proposed? (7) What would have been the position of the pope, if Mazzini and his friends had succeeded?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, pp. 123 ff.; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chap. viii; *Guggenberger*, III, §§ 426-447.

Chapter XXXI. (1) Why were the rulers of most of the Italian states unpopular? (2) How did Cavour's plan for uniting Italy differ from that of Mazzini? Why was the former a little more popular than the latter? (3) Could Napoleon III in his Italian enterprises appeal to the example of "my great uncle"? Why? (4) Could the people in the various plebiscites really express their preference, for instance those who wished for an Italian confederation?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, p. 163; *Guggenberger*, III, §§ 456-476, 480-486, 490-495, 504-510. For conditions in the Papal States before their destruction and for events in Rome from 1848 to 1870, see Maguire, *The Pontificate of Pius IX*. An excellent work on the events narrated in this chapter, written by a man who was an eye-witness of some of them, is O'Clery's *The Making of Italy*.

Chapter XXXII. (1) Trace the growth of Prussia between 1648 and 1866, using the index at the end of the book. Which are the principal dates that mark additions to Prussian territory? (2) Did Bismarck adhere to the party of Little Germany or to the party of Great Germany (cf. § 353)? (3) Why did Bismarck, after 1866, not force the South German states to join the North German Confederation and thus complete his task of founding the German Empire before 1871? (4) If the Hohenzollern prince had become King of Spain, would France

have been in a situation similar to that which she was in during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Why? (5) Why was it unwise on the part of France not to be satisfied with the withdrawal of Prince Leopold from the Spanish candidature? (6) What phrases in Bismarck's version of the Ems dispatch were offensive to France (see text in *M. E. H.*)? Did it falsify the dispatch which he himself received from the king? (See Schevill.)

Readings: *Hayes*, II, pp. 180 ff.; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chaps. XI-XIII. For the Ems dispatch, consult *M. E. H.*, II, p. 158. For the original text and Bismarck's "editing" of it, see Schevill, *The Making of Modern Germany*, p. 238. On the diplomacy of Bismarck leading to the Franco-Prussian War, consult Robert Lord, *The Origins of the War of 1870*. *M. E. H.*, II, p. 208, gives a description by an English eye-witness of the siege of Paris.

Chapters XXXIII and XXXIV. (1) Why would the demands of the Chartists not be considered in our day as radical and dangerous to the state? (2) What is the difference between the British constitution and the American constitution in the manner of electing members to the legislature and in the part the executive branch of the government plays in making laws? (3) How are the members of the Cabinet appointed in England? How in America? (4) Can you give two or three reasons why a written constitution is to be preferred? (5) Write a special report on the Oxford Movement (consult *19th C.*). (6) What reasons were advanced against giving the vote to the working classes (see *M. E. H.*)?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, p. 102, and chap. XXII; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chaps. XVIII-XXI; Cross, *A Shorter History of England*, chaps. L-LV. For religious events (Emancipation and Oxford Movement), see *19th C.*, II, chap. I, or Stebbing, *The Church in England*, chaps. XXXIII, XXXIV. For arguments against the Chartist Movement, see *M. E. H.*, II, p. 257.

Chapter XXXV. (1) On what occasion was the English Protestant church forced upon Ireland? (2) How and when did Ireland become the country of the absentee landlord? Can you mention other examples where the tiller of the soil was usually not the owner of the soil? Why was the Irish system worse than others? (3) Find some reasons why the English withheld self-government from Ireland although they had granted it to Canada and other colonies. (4) Why is not Ulster under the same government as the rest of Ireland?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, p. 319; Gwynn, *The History of Ireland*, chaps. XXXII-XLIII; D'Alton's article on Ireland in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The religious history of this period is well treated in *19th C.*, II,

chap. II. From an extract of Churchill's speech in *M. E. H.*, II, p. 302, the student may gather the usual reasons advanced against home rule.

Chapter XXXVI. (1) Name four or five of the great empires of the past and show by the map that the British Empire surpasses all in area. (2) When and how were the following parts of the British Empire acquired: India, Canada, South Africa, Australia, Egypt? (3) Which self-governing colony, on account of its location, needs most the protection of the British navy? (4) Would a tariff union embracing the whole British Empire be dangerous to the commerce of the United States? Why?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. XXIX; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chap. XXII. For a fuller treatment of the subject, see Woodward, *Expansion of the British Empire*. *M. E. H.*, II, p. 320, lets a French Canadian explain his attitude to the empire and (p. 336) gives the aims of those who advocate closer union within the empire.

Chapter XXXVII. (1) Why has the President of the United States more power than the President of the French Republic? Has France cabinet government or not? (2) What is the difference between the Republican party of France and the Republican party of the United States? (3) Name the anti-Christian measures of the first French Republic to show that republicanism in France was identified with hostility to religion. (4) Why would it have been wise for the French Catholics to heed the warnings of Leo XIII and abandon monarchism? (5) Compare the concordat of Napoleon I (see § 257) with the condition of Catholicism after the abolition of this concordat and show that in some respects the Church was better off than before. (6) Write a special report on the Dreyfus affair.

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. XXIII. For the contest between Church and State, consult *19th C.*, I, chap. VII; *M. E. H.*, II, pp. 224-232. For a description of the government, see Macy and Gannaway, *Comparative Free Government*.

Chapter XXXVIII. (1) Point out some undemocratic features in the constitution of the German Empire. (2) Why was Germany relatively late in the scramble for colonies in Africa and elsewhere? What motives impelled her to strive hard to gain colonies? (3) Why were the German Catholics comparatively more successful in their struggle against the encroachments of the government than their French brethren? (4) Why did not Bismarck's social legislation succeed in checking to any great extent the growth of socialism? Does that legislation answer the demands of Karl Marx? (5) Write a special report on the Kulturkampf, using either the *Catholic Encyclopedia* or *19th C.*

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. XXIV, 1; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*,

chap. xiv. For the Kulturkampf, see the excellent account in *19th C.*, I, chap. x, or in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. For the building up of Germany's colonial empire, consult Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, chaps. vi, vii, or Gibbons, *World Politics*, chap. xvi.

Chapter XXXIX. (1) Why has Italy such a large emigration? (2) Is there any similarity between the District of Columbia and the Vatican City? (3) Why was it not necessary for the solution of the Roman Question that the Papal States be restored as they were before 1860? (4) Do you think Mazzini and his followers would be satisfied with Italian unity as it exists to-day?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xxiii, 2; *Guggenberger*, III, §§ 506-510, 636; *19th C.*, I, chap. xviii; *Catholic Encyclopedia* under *States of the Church*.

Chapter XL. (1) Who is to be regarded as the founder of the Dual Monarchy, *i.e.* the union between Austria and Hungary under the Hapsburg rule (§ 37)? (2) Is it necessary for the strength and unity of a state that all its people be of one nationality and one language? Can you prove the opposite by the example of one or two European states? (3) Are there many emigrants from the former Dual Monarchy in the United States? Mention two nationalities strongly represented in our own country.

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xxiv, 2; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chap. xvii; Colquhoun, *The Whirlpool of Europe*; article *Austria-Hungary* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

Chapter XLI. (1) Four of the small states of Europe were once great powers. When and how? (2) How did the present royal family of Spain obtain the throne? Which royal family preceded it? (3) When and how did Holland and Switzerland obtain their independence? (4) Which of the small states of Europe have colonies outside Europe? Why is it hard for a small state to acquire and maintain colonies? What colonies did these small states lose? (5) Find out which American states have something like the Swiss initiative and referendum and tell what it is.

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xxiii, 3, 4, 5, and chap. xxiv, 3, 4, 5. Very good accounts of these small states may be found in the respective articles of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Those on Spain and Belgium are particularly good. For Belgium, read J. de C. MacDonnell, *Belgium, Her Kings, Kingdom, and People* or van der Essen, *A Short History of Belgium*. An interesting study on Switzerland is by V. Crawford, *Switzerland To-day*.

Chapter XLII. (1) By using the references given in § 492 write a brief sketch of the expansion of Russia. (2) Are there any features in

the physical geography of Russia that differ from those of western Europe and give it some resemblance to North America? Does the climate of Russia resemble our own? In what respects? (3) Why was Russia, of all European nations, the last to be affected by the ideas of the French Revolution? (4) What parts of Russia could be called her colonies?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xxv; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chap. xxix. The articles on Russia in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are recommended, the former especially for information on the Russian church and religious conditions under the tsars.

Chapter XLIII. (1) In what century did the Turks conquer Constantinople and overrun the Balkan peninsula? When did they advance beyond the peninsula and occupy the greater part of Hungary? What event marks the beginning of their gradual retreat? (2) Would the history of the Balkans be essentially different if the Turks had been converted to Christianity? Why? (3) If the Balkan peoples are, on the whole, the least civilized in Europe, to what is this due? (4) Why is the possession of Constantinople so valuable? Why was England so long determined that Russia should not have it? (5) What fear influenced the statesmen at the Congress of Berlin in remaking the map of the Balkans? Who had reason to be pleased with the decisions of the Congress? (6) Can you show that purely national states are impossible in the Balkans, and that, therefore, the application of the principle of nationality will not bring about a peaceful settlement in that part of Europe?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xxvi; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chap. xxviii. For an account of the gradual decay of Turkey during the nineteenth century, see Miller, *The Ottoman Empire*, 1801-1913 (the account ends with the first Balkan War). Schevill, *The Balkan Peninsula*, gives a full narrative of the events recorded in this chapter. Very good also are chaps. vii, xviii, xxii, and xxiii in Gibbons, *World Politics*.

Chapter XLIV. (1) What classes of people in each nation are most interested in imperialism? What classes are least affected by the success or failure of colonial enterprises? (2) Why do small nations sometimes find it harder to get a foreign market for their products than big ones? (3) Why does England attach more importance to a strong navy than any other country? (4) What various inconveniences would the United States suffer if during a war our foreign trade were cut off? What kinds of food and drink should we have to forego? (5) Why did European emigrants generally prefer the United States to any other country? (6) Can a nation consistently profess to follow the principle of nationality and at the same time acquire colonies?

(7) Write short sketches of Henry M. Stanley and Cecil Rhodes (using an encyclopedia for the facts). (8) Find out which are the most valuable exports of the Congo Free State, of British South Africa, of Egypt, and of Algeria. (9) Why are the French colonies in Africa less valuable than their size on the map would indicate? (10) Can you give some reasons why the continent of Africa, although much nearer to Europe than America, was explored much later than our continent? (11) What differences in size, location, and value can you point out between the Russian empire and the British empire? (12) Why was India so valuable to the explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? Why is it now so important for England? (13) Why is Japan sometimes called "the Britain of the Far East"? (14) Find on the map the Siberian railroad. Can you give two or three reasons for building it? (15) Can you give some reasons why Japan, although victorious in her war with Russia, was rather anxious to make peace as soon as possible?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chaps. xxvii, xxviii; Hazen, *Europe since 1815*, chaps. xxiii, xxx. A brilliant work on imperialism and its activities in the backward regions of the world is Parker T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*. Several chapters in Gibbons, *Introduction to World Politics*, bear on our subject, e.g. i-xv, xlii-lxiv, etc. The economic aspect of imperialism is well discussed in Buell, *International Relations*, part II. Slosson, *Twentieth-Century Europe*, is likewise recommended.

Chapter XLV. (1) Enumerate some defects of the various pre-war agencies that were believed to insure permanent international peace. (2) Can you mention a case where armed conflict was prevented by the Holy Alliance? (3) What authority in the Middle Ages sometimes succeeded in preventing war? (4) Is the principle of the "balance of power" a means of avoiding war? (5) Why is it impossible in Europe by any arrangement of boundaries to do away with the dangers of nationalism? (6) What is meant by "international anarchy"? Would it be removed, partly or entirely, by an association of all the nations of Europe? (7) If you compare the attitude of Bismarck toward England with that of William II, which was the wiser course? Why? (8) Would international peace have been more secure if all the secret treaties had been made public? Why? (9) What advantages came to France and Russia through their friendship with England? Why would it have been dangerous to Italy to side with the Triple Alliance after England joined the other side? (10) Show that Washington's advice to "steer clear of permanent alliances" was a wise and good policy for the United States to follow.

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chap. xxx; Slosson, *Twentieth-Century Europe*, chap. ix; Gibbons, *World Politics*, chap. xxiv. Dickinson, *Interna-*

tional Anarchy, 1904-1914, is a brilliant sketch of the tangle of European politics before the Great War. Sidney Fay in his excellent work, *The Origins of the World War*, 2 volumes, devotes practically the entire first volume to the subject treated in this chapter. See also C. J. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*.

Chapter XLVI. (1) Was Austria justified in demanding that the investigation into the murder of the archduke be conducted on Serbian soil? Was she justified in rejecting the mediation of the great powers? (2) Sum up the grievances which Serbia had against Austria (cf. §§ 513 and 514). (3) What advantages for the movement of troops and supplies did the Central Powers derive from their geographical position? What made the coöperation of France and Russia difficult? (4) Mention some advantages that came to the Allies from the British sea power. (5) Give several reasons why the entrance of the United States into the war was the most important cause of the defeat of the Central Powers. (6) Compare the map of present-day Germany with that of the Germanic Confederation of 1815-1866. In what respects are they similar? Where do they differ? (7) Where was the principle of national self-determination observed in the peace treaties and where was it violated? How do the treaties in this respect differ from the provisions of the Congress of Vienna of 1815 (§ 282)? (8) What did the "freedom of the seas" which President Wilson proposed as essential to world peace mean in times of war? What policy in regard to treaties did he propose for the future? Could his idea on this point be easily carried out? (9) Do you think that Paris was the best place to hold the peace conference or could you suggest a better place? (10) Enumerate all the independent states in Europe and Asia that did not exist before the Great War.

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chaps. xxxi-xxxiii; *Hayes, The Great War*. The student will find short surveys of the war in many recent encyclopedias. Chapters x-xv in Slosson, *Twentieth-Century Europe*, give much detail on the war and the peace. More advanced students may read with profit Fay, *The Origins of the World War*, II, chaps. ii, iii, and Seton-Watson, *Sarajevo*, on the events connected with the murder of Archduke Ferdinand.

Chapter XLVII. (1) What differences can you point out between the League of Nations and the Holy Alliance? (2) Show that in the constitution of the League of Nations the interests of the great powers are better safeguarded than those of the small ones. (3) Is it true that Great Britain can exercise more control over the League of Nations than any other nation? Why? (4) Do you think that America should refuse to join any league of nations, or should we demand some

changes in the constitution of the present league and then join it? (5) What advantages can you see in an international, not merely national, labor office? In Europe laborers often go for one season to a neighboring country. Does this make uniform labor legislation desirable? (6) Why is defeat in war often disastrous to monarchy? Give several examples in nineteenth century history where defeat resulted in the overthrow of a monarchy. (7) Show that the Russian Bolsheviks carried out the teaching of Karl Marx in detail. Where did the experience of Russia prove this teaching wrong? (8) Which Russian tsars in the nineteenth century showed more interest in the welfare of the people and more democratic inclinations than Nicholas II? (9) Can you see anything praiseworthy in the idea of soviets? Has something like it been tried in industries elsewhere? in America? (10) What do you think are some safeguards against the spread of Bolshevism in the United States? (11) Why is it to the interest of all nations that after a war the defeated countries also recover as quickly as possible? Do you think the American farmer would be better off if Europe were not impoverished? (12) What parties in Germany would probably resist the return of the Hohenzollerns? (13) Why would Austria be benefited by a lowering of the tariffs of her neighbors? What economic advantages would come to her through a union with Germany? (14) Why is Vienna with a population of nearly two million too large a capital for the little republic of Austria? Could a city like New York or Chicago exist in a small state? (15) Why are Egypt and India so important for the British Empire? (16) Give some reasons for and against self-government for India. Look up the population of the large colonies of the British Empire and state what would be the effect on Great Britain proper if the empire were governed by a parliament representing the people both of the mother country and of the colonies. (17) What advantage would it be to the Irish Free State if Ulster were included in it? (18) Would Ireland be better off or not if she were completely separated from the British Empire? Can you give some reasons why Australia, South Africa, and Canada prefer to stay in the British Empire? (19) Why may the dictatorships in Italy, Spain, and other countries in the long run prove bad for them?

Readings: *Hayes*, II, chaps. xxxiii-xxxv. Nearly all the questions treated in this chapter are very ably dealt with in Buell, *Europe, A History of Ten Years*. Matters concerning the League of Nations, the various national minorities, international labor questions, etc., the student will find discussed in *International Relations* by the same author. On post-war Russia, Germany, and the new states, the student will find much information in Slosson, *Twentieth-Century Europe*, especially

chaps. xvi-xx. Edmund Walsh, *The Fall of the Russian Empire*, will make very fascinating reading. In general, however, for the most recent events the student must rely on magazines like *Current History* or the weekly summaries of news. Very valuable information can often be found in annual publications, like the *World Almanac*, the annual supplement to the *Encyclopedia Americana*, or the *New International Year Book*.

BOOK LIST

The following list gives the full titles and the publishers of the books referred to in the exercises. In addition to these, several other works have been mentioned which seem desirable for a high school library.

- Belloc, Hilaire**, *The French Revolution*, Henry Holt and Company, New York.
- Betten, Francis S., S.J.**, *Ancient and Medieval History*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston. The companion volume to the present work. — *Historical Terms and Facts*, Allyn and Bacon, Boston. Designed to give information on and explanation of such points as can only be touched upon in textbooks.
- Birkhead, Alice**, *The Story of the French Revolution*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.
- Bolton, Herbert E., and Thomas Marshall**, *The Colonization of North America*, The Macmillan Company, New York. The best short account of our colonial period; gives due credit to the Spanish and French pioneers.
- Buell, Raymond Leslie**, *International Relations*, Henry Holt and Company, New York. Not a history but a lucid discussion of present-day problems of war and peace on a historical background; gives much material for school debates. — *Europe, A History of Ten Years*, The Macmillan Company, New York. Treats international events from 1918 to 1929.
- Campbell, Rev. Thomas, S.J.**, *Pioneer Priests in North America*, 3 volumes, The America Press, New York. A fine narrative of the heroic deeds of early missionaries to the Indians.
- Cathrein, Victor, S.J.**, *Socialism* (translated by Gettelmann), Benziger Brothers, New York. For advanced students; contains many official pronouncements of socialist parties and leaders and much excellent criticism.
- Cheyney, Edward P.**, *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*, The Macmillan Company, New York.
- Colquhoun, Archibald R., and Ethel Colquhoun**, *The Whirlpool of Europe*, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York. A popular description of conditions in Austria-Hungary before the Great War.

- Crawford, Virginia**, *Switzerland To-day*, Sands & Co., London. A well-informed account, especially on Catholic topics.
- Cross, Arthur L.**, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, The Macmillan Company, New York. Good on the political and economic development of the empire.
- D'Alton, Rev. Edward A.**, *History of Ireland*, 3 volumes, B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis. The best larger history of Ireland.
- Dickinson, G. Lowes**, *International Anarchy, 1904-1914*, The Century Co., New York. Describes the mutual distrust and intense international rivalry preceding the Great War.
- Dietz, Frederic C.**, *The Industrial Revolution* (Berkshire Series), Henry Holt and Company, New York.
- Essen, Léon van der**, *A Short History of Belgium*, The University of Chicago Press. A brief summary by a Catholic Belgian.
- Fay, Sidney B.**, *The Origins of the World War*, 2 volumes, The Macmillan Company, New York. At present the best study of this difficult subject.
- Gardiner, Samuel R.**, *The Thirty Years' War*, Longmans, Green and Co., New York. Very clear on the issues involved.
- Gasquet, Francis A. (Cardinal)**, *On the Eve of the Reformation*, B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis. — *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, 2 volumes, B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis. Both books are standard Catholic works on the Reformation in England.
- Gibbons, Herbert Adams**, *An Introduction to World Politics*, The Century Co., New York. An interesting study of international rivalries during the last hundred years.
- Guggenberger, Anthony, S.J.**, *History of the Christian Era*, 3 volumes, B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis. Very good on political events affecting the fortunes of the Church from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century.
- Gwynn, Stephen**, *The History of Ireland*, The Macmillan Company, New York. The most recent and the best of the shorter Catholic histories of the Green Isle.
- Hayes, Carlton J. H.**, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, 2 volumes, The Macmillan Company, New York. A brilliant history; fair and judicious in appraising modern movements; should be in every high school library. — *Essays on Nationalism*, The Macmillan Company, New York. The best book on this predominant feature of modern states.
- Hazen, Charles D.**, *Europe since 1815* (American History Series), Henry Holt and Company, New York. Very detailed and generally reliable on political matters.

- Henderson, Ernest F.**, *A Short History of Germany*, Henry Holt and Company, New York. Stresses politics and wars; ends with 1870.
- Hill, George J.**, *The Story of the War in La Vendée and the Little Chouannerie*, Burns and Oates, London. A fascinating story of one phase of the Reign of Terror.
- Horgan, John J.**, *Great Catholic Laymen*, Benziger Brothers, New York. Very suitable for special class reports on leading Catholic men.
- Kurth, Godefroid**, *The Church at the Turning Points of History* (translated by Day), B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis. Fine essays by an eminent Catholic historian of Belgium.
- Larson, Laurence M.**, *History of England and the British Commonwealth*, Henry Holt and Company, New York.
- Lingard, John**, *History of England* (abridged and brought down to the accession of King Edward VII by H. N. Birt, O.S.B.), Bell and Sons, London. A brief summary of the work of England's greatest Catholic historian.
- Lord, Robert H.**, *The Origins of the War of 1870*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge. The most recent work on Bismarck's intrigues.
- MacCaffrey, Rev. James**, *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the Revolution*, 2 volumes, B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis. — *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 volumes, B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis. The two best reference works in English on the history of the Church since the Reformation.
- Macy and Gannaway**, *Comparative Free Government*, The Macmillan Company, New York. A good reference work for comparing American institutions with foreign governments and constitutions.
- Madelin, Louis**, *The French Revolution*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. A recent work and one of the best short histories of the French Revolution; suitable for advanced students.
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Alexander VI	1492-1503	Alexander VII	1655-1667
Pius III	1503	Clement IX	1667-1669
Julius II	1503-1513	Clement X	1670-1676
Leo X	1513-1521	Innocent XI	1676-1689
Adrian VI	1522-1523	Alexander VIII	1689-1691
Clement VII	1523-1534	Innocent XII	1691-1700
Paul III	1534-1549	Clement XI	1700-1721
Julius III	1550-1555	Innocent XIII	1721-1724
Marcellus II	1555	Benedict XIII	1724-1730
Paul IV	1555-1559	Clement XII	1730-1740
Pius IV	1559-1565	Benedict XIV	1740-1758
Pius V, St.	1566-1572	Clement XIII	1758-1769
Gregory XIII	1572-1585	Clement XIV	1769-1774
Sixtus V	1585-1590	Pius VI	1775-1799
Urban VII	1590	Pius VII	1799-1823
Gregory XIV	1590-1591	Leo XII	1823-1829
Innocent IX	1591	Pius VIII	1829-1830
Clement VIII	1592-1605	Gregory XVI	1831-1846
Leo XI	1605	Pius IX	1846-1878
Paul V	1605-1621	Leo XIII	1878-1903
Gregory XV	1621-1623	Pius X	1903-1914
Urban VIII	1623-1644	Benedict XV	1914-1922
Innocent X	1644-1655	Pius XI	1922-

EUROPEAN RULERS SINCE 1500

Austria

(Part of Holy Roman Empire until 1806)

Francis I, 1804–1835 (Holy Roman Emperor, as Francis II, 1792–1806)

Ferdinand I, 1835–1848

Francis Joseph, 1848–1916

Charles, 1916–1918

(Republic, 1918–)

Belgium

(Part of the hereditary lands of the Austrian Hapsburgs until 1555)

(Part of the Spanish monarchy, 1555–1713)

(Part of the Austrian monarchy, 1713–1797)

(Part of France, 1797–1815)

(Part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, 1815–1830)

Leopold I, 1831–1865

Leopold II, 1865–1909

Albert, 1909–

Bulgaria

(Part of Turkey until 1878)

Alexander, prince, 1879–1886

Ferdinand I, prince, 1887–1908, king, 1908–1918

Boris III, 1918–

Denmark

John, 1481–1513

Christian II, 1513–1523

Frederick I, 1523–1533

Christian III, 1533–1559

Frederick II, 1559–1588

Christian IV, 1588–1648

Frederick III, 1648–1670

Christian V, 1670–1699

Frederick IV, 1699–1730

Christian VI, 1730–1746

Frederick V, 1746–1766

Christian VII, 1766–1808

Frederick VI, 1808–1839

Christian VIII, 1839–1848

Frederick VII, 1848–1863

Christian IX, 1863–1906

Frederick VIII, 1906–1912

Christian X, 1912–

France

Charles VIII, 1483–1498

Louis XII, 1498–1515

Francis I, 1515–1547

Henry II, 1547–1559

Francis II, 1559–1560

Charles IX, 1560–1574

Henry III, 1574–1589

Henry IV, 1589–1610

Louis XIII, 1610–1643

Louis XIV, 1643–1715

Louis XV, 1715–1774

Louis XVI, 1774–1792

(First Republic, 1792–1804)

Napoleon I, emperor, 1804–1814

Louis XVIII, 1814–1824

Charles X, 1824–1830

Louis Philippe, 1830–1848

(Second Republic, 1848–1852)

Napoleon III, 1852–1870

(Third Republic, 1870–)

Germany

(Part of Holy Roman Empire until 1806)

(Part of German Confederation, 1806–1866)

(North German Federation and South German States, 1866–1871)

William I, 1871–1888 (King of Prussia, 1861–1888)

Frederick III, 1888

William II, 1888–1918

(Republic, 1918–)

Presidents:

Friedrich Ebert, 1919–1925

Paul von Hindenburg, 1925–

Great Britain

Sovereigns of Scotland, 1488–1707:

James IV, 1488–1513

James V, 1513–1542

Mary (Stuart), 1542–1567

James VI, 1567–1625 (after 1603 James I of England)

Sovereigns of England, 1485–1707:

Henry VII, 1485–1509

Henry VIII, 1509–1547

Edward VI, 1547–1553

Mary, 1553–1558

Elizabeth, 1558–1603

James I, 1603–1625 (VI of Scotland)

Charles I, 1625–1649

(Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–1660)

Charles II, 1660–1685

James II, 1685–1688

William III, 1689–1702 (William and Mary, 1689–1694)

Anne, 1702–1714 (Queen of Great Britain after 1707)

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Anne, 1707–1714 (Queen of England since 1702)

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George II, 1727–1760

George III, 1760–1820

George IV, 1820–1830

William IV, 1830–1837

Victoria, 1837–1901

Edward VII, 1901–1910

George V, 1910–^s**Greece**

(Part of Turkey until 1829)

(Republic, 1829–1832)

Otto I, 1832–1862

George I, 1863–1913

Constantine I, 1913–1917

Alexander I, 1917–1920

Constantine I, 1920–1922

George II, 1922–

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Maximilian I, 1493–1519

Charles V, 1519–1556

Ferdinand I, 1556–1564

Maximilian II, 1564–1576

Rudolph II, 1576–1612

Matthias, 1612–1619

Ferdinand II, 1619–1637

Ferdinand III, 1637–1657

Leopold I, 1658–1705

Joseph I, 1705–1711

Charles VI, 1711–1740

Charles VII (Elector of Bavaria), 1742–1745

Francis I, 1745–1765 (husband of Maria Theresa, ruler of Austria, 1740–1780)

Joseph II, 1765–1790

Leopold II, 1790–1792

Francis II, 1792–1806 (since 1804 emperor of Austria)

Hungary

Ladislas II, 1490–1516

Louis II, 1516–1526

(Austrian Hapsburgs, 1526–1918)

(Republic, 1918–1920)

(Kingdom, 1920–)

Regent, Admiral Nicholas Horthy

Italy

Victor Emmanuel II, 1861–1878 (King of Piedmont-Sardinia 1849–1861)

Humbert, 1878–1900

Victor Emmanuel III, 1900–

Netherlands (Holland)

(Part of hereditary lands of Austrian Hapsburgs until 1555)

(Part of Spanish monarchy, 1555–1581)

William the Silent, stadholder, 1581–1584

Maurice, stadholder, 1584–1625

Frederick Henry, stadholder, 1625–1647

William II, stadholder, 1647–1650

John de Witt, grand pensionary, 1650–1672

William III, stadholder, 1672–1702 (king of England, 1689–1702)

William IV, stadholder, 1711–1751

William V, stadholder, 1751–1795

(Republic, 1795–1806)

Louis Bonaparte, king, 1806–1810

(Part of French Empire, 1810–1813)

William I, king, 1813–1840

William II, 1840–1849

William III, 1849–1890

Wilhelmina, 1890–

Norway

(Under kings of Denmark, 1397–1814)

(Under kings of Sweden, 1814–1905)

Haakon VII, king, 1905–

Poland

Alexander, 1501–1506

Sigismund I, 1506–1548

Sigismund II, 1548–1572

Henry of Valois, 1573–1574

Stephen Bathory, 1575–1586

Sigismund III, 1587–1632

Ladislas IV, 1632–1648

John II Casimir, 1648–1668

Michael Wisniowiecki, 1669–1673

John III Sobieski, 1674–1696

Augustus II, 1697–1704

Stanislas Leszczynski, 1704–1709

Augustus II, 1709–1733

Stanislas Leszczynski, 1733–1734

Augustus III, 1734–1763

Stanislas II Poniatowski, 1764–1795

(Poland partitioned, 1795–1918)

(Republic, 1918–)

Portugal

Manoel I, 1495-1521	Maria I, 1786-1816
John III, 1521-1557	John VI, 1816-1826
Sebastian, 1557-1578	Pedro IV, 1826
Henry, 1578-1580	Maria II, 1826-1828
(Under Spanish kings, 1580-1640)	Miguel, 1828-1834
John IV, 1640-1656	Maria II, 1834-1853
Alfonso VI, 1656-1667	Pedro V, 1853-1861
Pedro II, 1667-1706	Louis I, 1861-1889
John V, 1706-1750	Charles I, 1889-1908
Joseph, 1750-1777	Manoel II, 1908-1910
Maria I and Pedro III, 1777-1786	(Republic, 1910-)

Prussia

- (Part of lands of Teutonic Knights, 1283-1466)
 (Part of Polish monarchy, 1466-1657; under Electors of Brandenburg after 1648)
 Frederick William, Great Elector of Brandenburg, 1640-1688
 Frederick I, Elector of Brandenburg, 1688-1701, King of Prussia, 1701-1713
 Frederick William I, 1713-1740
 Frederick II, 1740-1786
 Frederick William II, 1786-1797
 Frederick William III, 1797-1840
 Frederick William IV, 1840-1861
 William I, 1861-1888 (German Emperor, 1871-1888)
 Frederick III, 1888 (German Emperor)
 William II, 1888-1918 (German Emperor)
 (Republic, 1918-)

Roumania

- (Part of Turkey, 1500-1856)
 Alexander John Cuza, prince, 1861-1866
 Charles I, prince, 1866-1881; king, 1881-1914
 Ferdinand I, 1914-1927
 Michael I, 1927-

Russia

Ivan III, 1462-1505	Michael Romanov, 1613-1645
Basil IV, 1505-1533	Alexius, 1645-1676
Ivan IV, 1533-1584	Theodore II, 1676-1682
Theodore, 1584-1598	Ivan V and Peter I, 1682-1689
Boris Godunov, 1598-1605	Peter I, 1689-1725

Catherine I, 1725–1727
 Peter II, 1727–1730
 Anne, 1730–1740
 Ivan VI, 1740–1741
 Elizabeth, 1741–1762
 Peter III, 1762
 Catherine II, 1762–1796

Paul, 1796–1801
 Alexander I, 1801–1825
 Nicholas I, 1825–1855
 Alexander II, 1855–1881
 Alexander III, 1881–1894
 Nicholas II, 1894–1917
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Serbia

(Part of Turkey, 1459–1830)
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 Milosh, 1817–1839
 Milan, 1839
 Michael, 1839–1842
 Alexander, 1842–1858
 Milosh, 1858–1860
 Michael, 1860–1868
 Milan, prince, 1868–1882; king, 1882–1889
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 Peter, 1903–1918; 1918–1921, of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia)
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Spain

Ferdinand and Isabella, 1479–1504
 Ferdinand, 1504–1516
 Charles I (Charles V of Holy Roman Empire), 1516–1556
 Philip II, 1556–1598
 Philip III, 1598–1621
 Philip IV, 1621–1665
 Charles II, 1665–1700
 Philip V, 1700–1746
 Ferdinand VI, 1746–1759
 Charles III, 1759–1788
 Charles IV, 1788–1808
 Joseph Bonaparte, 1808–1813
 Ferdinand VII, 1813–1833
 Isabella, 1833–1868
 Amadeo of Savoy, 1870–1873
 (Republic, 1873–1875)
 Alfonso XII, 1875–1885
 Alfonso XIII, 1886–

Sweden

(Under kings of Denmark, 1397-1523)

Gustavus I Vasa, 1532-1560	Ulrica Eleonora, 1718-1720
Eric XIV, 1560-1568	Frederick I, 1720-1751
John III, 1568-1592	Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771
Sigismund, 1592-1604	Gustavus III, 1771-1792
Charles IX, 1604-1611	Gustavus IV, 1792-1809
Gustavus II Adolphus, 1611-1632	Charles XIII, 1809-1818
Christina, 1632-1654	Charles XIV, 1818-1844
Charles X, 1654-1660	Oscar I, 1844-1859
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